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The *National Era* is published every Thursday, on the following terms:

Single copy, one year	$2.00
Three copies, one year	5.00
Five copies, one year	8.00
Ten copies, one year	15.00
Single copy, six months	1.00
Ten copies, six months	8.00

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

VOL. XIV. WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1860. No. 688.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Ten cents a line for the *first* insertion, *five* cents a line for each subsequent one. Ten words constitute a line. Payment in advance is invariably required.

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M. L. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era

A PALACE IN GENOA.

BY EDWARD SPENCER.

XIV—Continued.

Reader, let us accompany the three about Genoa, and see how they spent and made profitable one of those halcyon days.

It is a lovely morning, with the brilliant blue sky of Italy over head—a sky not so glaringly blue as ours, but toned and softened, and made indescribably lovely, by a sort of grayish-pearly lustre about it, which only he who has seen can appreciate, and none can give an adequate idea of—and the friends have gone forth for a walk. For a morning's walk to the leisurely stranger in Genoa, there is, of course, but one route, along the street of Palaces—for Genoa, city of Palaces as she is, and of tall houses, has within her midst a street of Palaces, as, in Hamlet, we have a play within a play. And this street—there is but one, though it is variously named in different portions of its extent—is rightly called a street of Palaces, for, though comparatively broad, the tall and gorgeous piles on either side rise so towering high that one fancies the sky is very far off indeed—yet, oh, so bright and blue, when you look up at it, like the sky one gazes at when far down in a well or in a mine-shaft. From the Piazza dell' Annunciata, it stretches to the Piazza Amorosa, and called in one place Strada Nuova, in another Strada Novissima, and yet again Strada Balbi, it presents to the eye one long, continuous series of marble structures, splendid in architectural display, and giving one new ideas of the pomp and show of wealth. When one has traversed it, he knows well how Genoa came by her title of The Superb. Such massive balconies, rising one above the other, tier on teir, like stage-boxes in a tall theatre, each one delicately carved, as if it were a parlor mantel or the altar of a church; such great ambitious arches, such lofty marble stairs, invitingly open to you on the street, but seeming, as you glance up, to be as interminable as those of poor Piranesi's dream, or as the stair along which fled Tom Moore's Alciphron when initiate into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris and Serapis—by their massiveness and their gloom, sometimes recalling those black steps down which Beckford's Kalif pursued his way to the Halls of Eblis; the heavy lower windows, closed and barred; the columns and pillars, tall and massive; the glimpses of roomy vestibules, and far-piercing corridors, and lofty halls, now decked in gold, now circled with mirrors, now frescoed from wainscot to wainscot, over wall and ceil and wall, back to the marble floors; the terrace-gardens between, with groves of olive, lemon, and orange-trees, all green and gold—such green and gold, too!—and rich oleander, and polished citron, and, high above all, the over-arch of the spreading, luxurious vine: all these reared far and high above you and the street, smiling upon you with a smile of Italy, and showering down upon you precious odors of citron and grape bloom, the breath of Italy, these; the peculiar wealth of color everywhere, seen in the ripe and stained and mottled marbles, in the green damp and mildew, in the moss of decay, in the frescoes that everywhere meet your eye, inside, outside, on wall and door and façade and balcony and window, everywhere; the churches here and there, as numerous as rich, and as rich as art can make them; the paint, the gilding, the stucco, the endless variety of hue, of form, of design, of apparel—all these crowd upon the bewildered gazer till he is staggered with the intoxication of a dream, and might fancy himself, like Aladdin, suddenly transferred from the dull tailor-shop to the mysterious garden underground so all ablaze with magic wealth of gold and light and music and sparkling jewelled fruit! Historic names these palaces bear, too—the grand Durazzo, finest and most superb of all, with its noble gallery of pictures; the Doria, with old Andrew's statue in its garden, a mute old Neptune, lofty, white, and cold, amid the lustrous green foliage, and by the voiceless fountain——

"'Tis Saturn in the Hyperion of John Keats," cried Helen, when she saw the statue; "the picture is almost exact:

'Deep in the shady sadness of a vale,
Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
Far from the fiery noon and eve's one star,
Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone.
Still as the silence round about his lair.'"

"There is some resemblance, Helen," said Rupert, "only, this is not exactly like a pathless forest, silent and shady; and Doria stands up, erect, and fearless, and contented."

"There is another feature of resemblance to Keats's picture which you have left out," said Merivale, looking at Helen, as she watched the statue, and unconsciously touched it with her gloved hand.

"What is that?" asked she, quickly.

Merivale, with a smile, looked at her, and quoted:

"It seemed no force could wake him from his place;
But there came one, who with a kindred hand
Touched his wide shoulders, after bending low
With reverence, though to one who knew it not.
She was a Goddess of the infant world"——

"There! there!" cried Helen. "If we 'wake him from his place,' I am sure the old hero would inflict an awful punishment upon you for flattery, and have me before the Inquisition for making heathen comparisons—a proper reward to both of us for capping verses. Come—let us escape. I almost fancy I see his eye twinkle and his fist clench."

There is another Doria palace towards the sea and the Ponente, now used for barracks; this is one of the first objects that meets the eye in coming from Marseilles—as Mrs. Browning writes:

"The Doria's long pale palace striking out,
From green hills in advance of the white town,
A marble finger dominant to ships,
Seen glimmering through the uncertain gray of dawn."

Other Palaces, such as the Serra, with its famous saloon, all mirrors and marble and gilding—which cost, they say, a million of francs, and seems far more appropriate to a New York Hotel or a Palais Royal restaurant than to the residence of a family; although the *custode* makes money by showing it, and possibly its *nobile* owner shares the profit with him; the Balbi, the University Palace, the Palazzi Pallavicini, Carega, Negroni, Cambiaso, di Negro, Brignole, Brignole Sale, Grimaldi, Spinola, and others—all works of art, noble, wealthy, and sumptuous—may be mentioned, but not described. All are built upon one general plan; the architecture is almost too florid to be in perfect good taste, but all preserve the same characteristic of wealth and sumptuousness, and all tend to keep up that contrast between the immense space of building and the exceeding small space out-doors, which has struck all travellers as such an incongruity, and has provoked so many figures and comparisons in the attempt to convey ideas of it. Heine has even ventured to call it ugly, and says that people cannot sit in opposite doorways without knocking their knees together; but this is what is called "stretching;" and when Heine took what is usually the traveller's first view of it, from the sea, he confessed to such a feeling as would naturally have been awakened in his poetic breast, comparing it to a bleached skeleton, in and about and over which the ants creep continually. "The streets are more lanes, with here and there a kind of *well* or breathing-place," says Charles Dickens; but he says, also, "It is a place that 'grows upon you' every day. There seems to be always something to find out in it. There are the most extraordinary lanes and alleys and by-ways to walk in. * * * It abounds in the strangest contrasts; things that are picturesque, ugly, mean, magnificent, delightful, and offensive, break upon the view at every turn." "This cittie," quotes Mr. Longfellow in his Outre-Mer," from a book the existence of which is entirely in his quotation, so far as I am concerned—"This cittie is most proudly built upon the sea-coast and the downefall of the Appenines, at the foot of a mountaine; even as if she were descended doune the mounte, and come to repose herselfe uppon a plaine;" which pretty figure, in its unconscious prosopopoeia, at once adumbrates and justifies that of Mrs. Jameson, when she says of Genoa: "She is like a noble matron, blooming years, and dignified in decay." Mr. Hilliard notices, while he exaggerates, the smallness of the harbor, and the miniature nature of the view, which he compares to "a clever scene in an opera." He is more happy when he likens the city, seen from within, to "a cluster of shafts cut through a quarry of marble." For myself—after London, for its vastness and its associations with literature; after Paris, for its life, its nature, its individuality; after Venice, for its sadness, for its colors, for the shadow of its palaces, and the ripple of its waters under the bow of your gondola; after Rome, chief of all, the pilgrim's pole-star, for its art, its life, its dead, its burial, for its literature, for its name and its fame, for its glory and its shame, for its antiquity, its dust, its rottenness, for Romulus, and Brutus, and Cato, and Tully, and Cæsar, and the poets, and Nero, and Gregory, for its spoils of Greece, its Raphael, its Michelagnolo, its Claude, its Guido, for its Petrarch crowned and Keats buried, for its Colosseum, its Duomo, its Vatican, for its reminders of Sylla and Alaric and Genseric and Bourbon, for its memories of Rienzi and its name of Mazzini, equally with its memories of Borgia and its whispers of the Cenci—for all these I would still take "staff and shoon" for Rome; and to Damascus and Cairo, also, because of the "Arabian Nights;" but, after these, my pilgrim thoughts wend fondly towards Genoa the Superb—and not so much for its associations, its history, the stirring thrill of memories called up, as for its very self. Besides being dear to us, as our first glimpse of Italy, Genoa has a peculiar interest of its own; it bears the same relation to Italy and Italian art and poetry that old Nuremberg does to the mediæval Gothic art and romance, and it does not belie one's anticipations when entered and inspected. Like quaint old Nuremberg, also, it has a peculiar interest to American eyes, from the fact that it has always been a *Burgher* town; these palaces were built, not by haughty feudal lords, but by merchants and craftsmen, who *made* their money by industrious pursuits, by trade and commerce and handicraft, and who were not ashamed to own it. Even great Doria's name is but D'Oria, of gold, who laid the foundation of their greatness in goldsmith street—*stradi di orefici*—and perpetuated the fact by their name.

Out of this little harbor sailed the galleys of the stout republic, manned and officered by men from the middle class, sword in one hand and account-book in the other, ready for battle or for trade, as the chance offered. And from this school came the discoverer of America, Cristofero Columbo, son of a wool-comber. And he who looks at Genoa with a philosophic eye can see the relation between such a history and such a city. It was not the wish to have a cool city, to keep out the sun, and preserve the shade, which made Genoa what it is, all houses no and streets. Nor was it, as Heine supposes, because the city was built upon a small rock, and is necessarily crowded. No, the reason is that their *beginnings were small;* they located there, poor, and without money, and had no need of room, because they could not afford to avail themselves of it; and thus, in gazing at the city, we are able to recognise all this superimposed magnificence as peculiarly and honorably *their own*, because achieved by their own freedom under the guidance of their own industry. The streets show what Genoa originally was meagre, poor, and mean, and what it might have continued; the palaces, the churches, the ten thousand crowded tokens of wealth that meet the eye, show how great they were in being able so completely to rise above this primary position. The cow-paths and goose-tracks, which, in Boston, are politely denominated streets, and the narrow lanes and elbow corners of lower New York, tell a similar tale, and fully as honorable in its significance. In each case the original ring was of iron, rough and rude; the wearers themselves have put on all the gold plating, added all the filagree and fret-work, and inset all the wealth and blaze of jewels which now principally attract us. And surely it is only the more honorable to and remarkable in the great, steel-thewed Milo, when he appears before our wondering eyes with a mighty bull upon his shoulders, if it can be said of him: why, once he was only able to support a feeble six-weeks' calf.

But, though the sun seems very far off over Strada Balbi, when he gets fairly overhead his rays st[illegible] down intolerably, and long before noon our friends are anxious for shelter. Shall we turn aside, down into one of these narrow shop streets, that look so cool, so still, so echoing? This up-hill one, that down-hill one, or this where the bright little shops look so inviting? But no—Miss Beale has tried it once or twice, and she is not yet quite so used to Genoa, and its sights, and sounds, and smells, as to be able to find in these lanes, despite all their contrasts, their life, their deadness, their infinite variety of shape and size and hue, their gay shops, like the cells in a slice of honeycomb, the studies of life and character they present, the various features of the various trades, despite all the endless phantasmagoria which wait upon them—she is not able to find herself compensated for their squalor; the unwholesome stenches that steam out of them; the ungrateful sights they force upon the eye; the half naked children; the dirty women and filthy men—"Why don't they wash!" says Rupert—the greasy priests, rolling their sensual pig-eyes towards her; the stalls where men suck down yarde of maccaroni, and children gorge themselves with polenta; the beggars, squalid and verminous, with an exceeding eagerness to obtrude their deformities, their lumps and humps and broken limbs, and sightless sockets, and red, raw wounds, and oozing sores, and festering ulcers; the filth and garbage, accumulated in heaps and piles; the black lower walls; the dampness, and mouldiness, and rottenness of everything, and the smell of all, which "peculiar fragrance" (to quote the words of Mr. Charles Dickens, who is unapproachable in the description of a stink) "is like the smell of very bad cheese kept in very hot blankets." Miss Helen has begun indeed to make the discovery of the truth of what she was warned of by Merivale at Como, that in Italy the picturesque is inseparable from the offensive, but she has not yet quite reconciled herself to the fact, and so she declines going down into a side street. So Merivale proposes a glance at the Cathedral church, San Lorenzo, whither they go, and duly admiring the singular effect of the interior, which is uniquely arranged with alternate courses of white and black marble, the rich chapels in gilt and marble, and the numerous statues and pictures, they had a view of the Holy Graal. From San Lorenzo, our friends obeyed a suggestion of Merivale's, and visited the Palazzo Brignole Sale, which contains an admirable collection of pictures, a gallery which seemed superb indeed to Helen and Rupert, but which suffered with Merivale, for he remembered the Pitti and the Vatican. And now it was that our artist felt at home. He scowled upon the *custode*, who was about to show them round, and converted himself into a most voluble Cicerone. The "Abraham" of Castiglione was pointed out, also Guercino's "Virgin and Saints," and some portraits by Rubens. Helen paused before a "Holy Family." It was a simple work, quiet and tempered in design: St. John offering a butterfly to the infant Saviour; but there was such a chastened softness, such a beauty of expression and quiet healthiness of tone, that the young lady felt her eyes sparkle with delight.

"No wonder you are pleased," said Merivale, by her side; "that is a work of Pelegrino Piola's, a Genoese artist, and one who, if he had lived, would have rivalled Raphael. He died at the age of twenty-two—remind me of it, some day, and I will tell you his story. Piola has become one of my favorites, although I never saw a work of his until I came here. The St. Eligio, in the *Strada dei Orofici*, of which I spoke to you the other day, is by him. Mengo attributed it to Ludovico Caracci. Here is another picture of his, this exquisite Madonna—although most persons give Andrea del Sarto the credit of it."

"What are you gazing at so intently, brother?" asked Helen, as she came upon Rupert in one of the rooms. "Oh, Mr. Merivale!" cried she, suddenly; "Have you seen *this?* These companion pictures? *Can* they be portraits?"

"Si, Signorina," cried the *custode*, coming hastily up; "Sono ritratti per Vandyck di Marchese o Marchesa Brignole Sale"——

"And the most admired works here," interrupted Merivale.

"Ah," said the unabashed custode, rubbing his hands, as if determined to do his usual amount of talking; "Ah, ella ha ragione! Excellenza è veramente uno conoscitore."

"Audatevene, Ciarlone!" shouted Merivale, motioning the man off with a gesture, and then bending his whole attention to the portraits. They were two—those of a noble and his wife—placed opposite to each other, and so that they could look into each other's eyes. The Marquis is on horseback, hat in hand, a noble-looking gentleman, dressed in 'Vandyck style'—every one knows what that is. The Marchioness wears a stiff Genoese velvet dress and a ruff, and has a rose in her hand. No lovelier portrait of a *wife* was ever depicted upon canvas. There may have been, and doubtless are, more beautiful women, and artists have represented prettier faces, perhaps. The Fonarina, as we trace her in Raphael, his Saint Cecilia; Jacopo Palma's daughter, Violante, whose exquisite face and figure we see so constantly and lovingly reproduced in her father's works, in Giorgione's and in Titian's—these may have been more beautiful, but could not have been so lovely as the portrait of this Marchioness Brignole Sale.

"She is at the window," said Helen, entranced. "He is going to ride, and she is about to fling him her rose. Oh, how lovely, how sweet and soft she is. Her face and eyes are just warming up to smile upon him. And I wish I had a sister like her."

"And I—a wife," murmured Rupert, gazing still, with ardent eyes. Merivale sighed. "Ten years of my life would I give for Vandyck's power when he painted that portrait."

"And how much for Vandyck's subject, Sir Courier?"

Merivale looked from her face to the portrait, then back again to her face. It was bright and warm, and all alive with pure enthusiasm.

"Nothing," answered the artist, significantly. "I need not go back three hundred years to find a subject worthy of my pencil, had I thrice the skill of Vandyck."

"Three hundred years!" cried Rupert, "and the colors are as fresh as if they had been laid on yesterday. Oh, could I be an artist like that!"

"It would be worth dying for," cried Merivale, enthusiastically.

"Worth living for, you mean," said Helen, reprovingly. "No endowment is worth purchasing at the cost of life—for life itself is the highest gift man can possess. What a strange thrill it gives me to look at these old portraits, in their silence, their stateliness, their calm and quiet beauty! I love to gaze upon a picture of my friend. I like to study the limned features of him whom I know by fame, or with whom I converse in books; but a gallery of faces, ancestral and going back far, far into the grave! oh, it chills me, like so many funeral urns, placed side by side, and each inscribed with some death's-head or *memento mori!*"

"Yet no vanity have men and families clung to closer or been more extravagant in," remarked Merivale; "what do you think of the gallery the famous eulogist, Paulo Jovius, had in his beautiful villa on the banks of Como? He spent an immense fortune in gathering together the portraits of celebrities of all ages, climates, and nations, and then sat himself down in their midst to write about them, and not always eulogistically, either."

"Their presence would have oppressed me, and I would not have dared to write about them. I would have expected every moment to see them leap down from their frames, frowning and menacing."

"Yet to me there is a certain fascination in portraits," said Rupert. "I look and wonder, now believing in Lavater, and now doubting him entirely. How true that picture of Rubens over there is to the life of the brave old Sir Peter Paul, as history has handed it down to us. How false the sweet, modest, sly face of yonder Countess to her bold and shameless life. And, beyond that, how strange it is that these cunning colors should come down to us in all their freshness and beauty, when the originals, once ten-fold as lovely, and seemingly ten-fold as enduring, have, centuries ago, been mingled with the dust!"

"*Ars longa, vita brevis,*" said Merivale.

"Oh, the contrast of these stately palaces and these life-like portraits with the people that ordered and the hands that devised them!" quoth Helen; "life passes away like a summer breeze; the rose goes like the blush from yonder cheek, and the breath from those sweet lips; yet their works and their memories come down to us forever, perpetual monuments of the enduring, as they are perpetual admonitions of change, decay, and transitoriness!"

"*Sic transit,*" quoth Merivale; "and therefore you argue with the worthy Herr Professor, I suppose, Miss Helen, 'dat de ting madt is more wordty ash de maker dereof—do vheel runs a tousandt mile, budt de carritch-maker he cannot so much as ten miles run den; und I makes von cask to holdt saxty gallons of bier, vhile I cannot holdts more as von callon.' Is not that the legitimate corollary of your argument?"

"Yes," replied Helen, laughing, "and a proper rebuke to all of us for growing so seriously solemn and sepulchral. What right have young and healthy people like us ever to entertain a sad-hued fancy? Our days are crowned with roses, so ought our thoughts to be. *Boque la galere!*"

And, putting her arm within Rupert's, she half said, half sung, that little air of Meyerbeer in *Roberto il Diavolo*—

'Folle e quei che l'oro aduna
E noi sa come goder,
Non provo giammai fortuna,
Che sia lunga dal piacer,"

with such a merry, dancing, chirruping pirouette of her voice, that the Custode came in, running, and, hearing her, could not restrain his face from smiling, nor his hands from applause. This time, Merivale did not drive him from the room—nay, I am persuaded he found the man's feelings so kindred to his own, that he looked upon him with a really favoring eye, and tipped him twice the usual fee on leaving the gallery. Why?

"Take, oh boatman, thrice thy fee,
For, invisible to thee,
Spirits twain have crossed with me!"

In the afternoon, our friends took Nature for their guide usually, and so knew yet rarer joys than the joys of Art. For example, they would wander out from the city, and view it from afar; now from where the Ponente comes boldly down to the beach, a view in which the lofty Carignano fills the prospect with its beautiful lines; now from one of the terraced, olive-grown, and vineyarded heights above, where with the green beauties of the gardens around them, and the fragrance of the flowers melting into their senses, they could look down upon Genoa, and drink their fill of its peculiar loveliness. There beneath them lay the city in all its beautiful confusion; churches, monasteries, and convents, sending their challenging spires and campaniles up towards the blue; the white palaces glittering like glaciers in the sun; far below, the coast, beginning with the lighthouse, and meandering with its white road away off towards Nice; the broad sea in front, frittered into a multitudinous *Bigarrure* of gold and jewels—lapis lazuli and topaz and mother-of-pearl, inlaid and fretted over with pearl and amethyst and diamond; near at hand the garden of Aequa Sola, with its sparkling fountains, its roses red and sweet, its band playing marches and sweet airs from Rossini and Verdi, its cavalcade of stately coaches and uniformed soldiers, and in among the bushes and on the winding walks, smiling men, and graceful women, white-veiled and lovely. And here perhaps they would stand and gaze, or walk about and talk, hearing the voices of laughter and applause in the Day Theatre near by, where a play is going on each afternoon, happy and contented in their inmost souls, until the vesper bells began to ring, first a few faint notes, then a loud muezzin cry, To prayers! while the sun, going down into his golden and orange bed, loosed the night upon them unawares; for we have no twilights in Genoa. As they turn, unwilling, homeward, lights peep out in Genoa, and they can see them climb the coast-road and crown the hills, and waken in the valleys, like dancing will-o'-the-wisps on their way to the May-night festival of Blocksberg. And the flashing lantern that crowns the lighthouse on the pier, revolving, now kisses a palace's white façade with its broad, moon-like touch, now stares them boldly in the face, and now flings its handful of rays far out like pearls athwart the rippling sea.

Or, perhaps it is some afternoon peculiarly bright and mild, and they engage a felucca at the quays, and sail way out upon the bay, towards Spezzia, it may be, or Lerici, or Sestri, and, on their return, catch the noble *coup-d'œil* of Genoa from the water. The sea was like a lake of molten gold, so dead was the calm. Above the sky was blue, "deeply, beautifully blue," but, where it and the waters met to kiss the sun, it had a pale-green hue, with here and there a streak of burnished vapor, diaphanous and lustrous as veil of lace. Unspeakably lovely seemed the city in this light, a pile of white set in vivid green, house above house, terrace above terrace, crowned by bristling battlements, and these again crowned by olive-bearing, vineyard-laden hills. Over the burnished waters were sprinkled craft of all sizes, each with its still white sail set, "a painted ship upon a painted" ocean. And this was the Mediterranean, the sea of seas, where nature and the magic of association combine to rule with equal powers. All of the Past that men love, honor, reverence, worship, seems to cluster about this sea; religion, heroism, science, art, literature, all date from here; and the soul murmurs to itself, bewildered, yet feeling their import, the names Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Rome, Carthage, Italy! Should we not reverence this sea? Two epithets we apply to it, "beautiful," and "celebrated," and then we gaze upon it, voiceless, awed, yet with a passion of devotion. And when we pause to think over the destinies that hedge it around, we gaze out sadly o'er its sleeping form, and whisper with tenderest solicitude Michael Angelo's voice for his "Night:"

"Mentre che il danno e la vergogna duria,
Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura;
Pero non mi destar, deh parla basso!"

Aye, sleep on, placid sea; while shame and injustice last, the soft unconsciousness of slumber is truly the greatest boon. "Therefore disturb me not, speak low, speak low!"

The late sun blazes at the water's edge, hovering there, and sending its gold and crimson armies o'er the waves; hovers a moment, quivers o'er the brink—and sinks. Now the high coast in all its graceful curves is blest with rosy light; how softly it tinges the white palaces with its flush, and seems to melt among the groves and vineyards like grateful incense from an altar. The crimson flush pervades all; the cliffs, the bays, the rocks, the towers, the gilded roofs, the towers and campaniles, the groves, the hills, the windows, the straggling sails, are all suffused with it, and drink it in greedily, or reflect it gloriously. Then the rose g[illegible] to violet, the violet dims into purple, beyond the hills the sky grows vaulty, the shore-line darkens as its shadows creep out over the liquid calm, the palaces gleam dimly white and faint, the west is dying like a dolphin in whose side quivers Hesper's diamond-hilted lance, sending a single thread of silver towards you over the sea, while from the land, faint and then more loud, is wafted the voice of the evening prayer, the sweet Ave Maria, borne on the notes of the

——"Squilla de lontano
Che paja il giorno pianger, che si muore."

It is truly the vesper hour, the hour of tenderness and love, and our friends feel its soft, tender, yet saddening influences, as they slowly and in silence scull shoreward. How mellow the twilight, and how gently suggestive, in its faded, dying hues, of the glory and the splendor just expired! Night drops dark upon the waters, clouds gather about the hills, shadows lengthen and deepen, ghost-like flitting come the mists and vapors of the night, softly confusing and rendering mystic in their indistinctness the shapes of sea and shore, and the wavering whiteness of Genoa as she rises from the beach and creeps towards the mountains. A type of Italy is her sunset and declining day—symbolic of her mid-day splendors and of her eve's decay; but why do I lay profane retouching hands upon this poem? Is it not a poem—each Italian sunset? And has it not been set in colors and in verse often enough—Claude, Poussin, Titian, Byron, Rogers—profane hands, indeed, these of mine! But Italy somehow has a wondrous stimulating influence upon the art-impulse, and, as soon as we come upon her soil, we begin to draw pictures.

Nor did our unwearied travellers permit the night to pass by without providing its peculiar enjoyments. They were young, strong, eager and curious, and there was no spectacle worth seeing that they permitted to escape them. Say it has been a festa; evening droops, and, with the shadows of night, they go to witness the celebration at some church or chapel. Now they wend their way across the bridge of Carignano—a bridge over streets and houses, not over stream or rock—to the church of Santa Maria di Carignano, built by the Marquis Sauli, as a place where he could hear mass conveniently. Another time they visit the Annunciata, the glory of the Lomellini family, to whose wealth it owes its existence, and the pride of Genoa. The moonlight is dancing on the waves without, the bells clang an exultant jubilee, and devotee and gallant, stranger and peasant, are hasting on their way towards the glittering Annunciata. Our friends join the throng, and so will we, reader, for 'tis a magic sight to see—a festa night in Genoa the Superb. Strada Nuova lays fair and lovely in the moonlight, its long line of palaces stretching before the eye, half in light, half in shade, "like the long, vapory opening of a cloud in the summer sky." Now we come to one of those "breathing places," the Piazza dell' Annunciata, and, behold, here is the church before us. We enter. What a blaze of light—what a dazzling scene of splendor! The exuberant wealth, the tumultuous array of marble polished and carved, of gorgeous fresco and of lavish gilding; the hum of voices, the crash of music, the flash of light and blare of sound come upon our senses like the overture of a grand opera put forward with more than ordinary orchestral pomp. Venetian is the florid color of the frescoing, and the high ceiling is one mighty brooch of gold set in an alabaster frame. Rich draperies hang in festoons from wall and ceil, and enwreathe the tall red marble columns that support the roof. The saints' shrines sparkle with reflected light from ten thousand gold and jewelled ornaments, votive offerings, necklaces, and rings. The orchestra in the gallery, attended by a full chorus of voices, rises and swells and dies away with an ebb and flow of multitudinous melody; the deep organ rolls and gushes with a flood of anthem and of praise; while from the high altar, with its band of solemn priests, and from innumerable tapers, high and low, against the walls and pillars, caught up, and magnified, and magically varied from roof and ceil and shrine and polished marble and fretted cornice, a blazing, dazzling stream of light is poured down upon the crowd of worshippers who fill the body of the church. Such an audience, too, it is, rivalling in picturesque effect the most brilliant scene of a ballet. Kneeling in the aisles, standing, seated, performing their devotions with bowed heads and eloquence of gesture, a mingled throng of men and women—men in red caps, and coats about their shoulders, or in bandit hats and velveteen jackets—not that they wore their head gear in the church, but twirled and tossed them hither and thither with that vivacity peculiar to their race—chorister boys, in dirty white garments, begging cappuccini and parish priests, solemn, black, and straight-robed, and women, all wearing the white, gauzy and ethereal *mezzaro*, combined to make it a wondrously effective spectacle. That eloquent mezzaro, how beautiful, how unique, how suggestive it was here! Fancy the chapel of some cloistered convent, the hour of midnight mass, the magic gleam of the solemn lighted altar, and a thousand nuns at their devotions, each and every one shrouded in the folds of the mystic white veil. Gleaming and white, instinct with every life like hue and sparkle, the light pours down, the orchestra has ceased its play; the solemn organ and the thrilling voices of the choir take up the burden of a glorious anthem. How it brings a flush to the cheek, a quiver to the flesh, and awe to the thoughts. An anthem of praise and a song of exulting joy—"Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast given it great joy: they will rejoice before Thee like the joy at the time of harvest, as they exult when they divide spoil!"

"Coelum fit serenius,
Et mare tranquillius,
Spirat aura lenius.
Vallis nostra floruit,
Revirescunt arida,
Recalescunt frigida,
Post quae ver intepuit,
Ave Maris Stella,
Dei Alma Mater
Atque semper Virgo,
Felix coeli porta
Ave Maria Virgo
Redemptor s Alma Mater,
Ave Maria!

Strange and solemn worship, that wakes the prayer to lips so long unheeding, and rouses into throbbing life again the very immortal part of us, erewhile so stagnant! And yet, by yonder column, hear the murmur. He is cloaked, even to his ears, and her mezzaro is so wrapped about her as to hide her face entirely. Of what do they converse, standing there so close to each other by the tall red column, and with heads bent down close together, so that their murmurs may not be heard, and their warm breath may mingle? What topic suggests that mutual seeking of the other's hand, that warm clasp? See, now, she moves away—she flings herself upon her knees in the aisle, bows her head, says a prayer, and signs the cross, ever watched by him. Now she steals off noiseless through the throng; and he, wrapping his cloak yet more closely about him, follows her from the church. What words do you think their hearts supplied to the music? Thought they of worship, or thought they, "half-foreboding, half-remembering," of

"Kisses which we steal in darkness,
And in darkness give again;
Oh, such kisses—how they rapture
A poor soul in living pain!"

Outside there, too, if we go early in the evening, before darkness has set in, we shall find these men, in their red caps or bandit hats, in their jackets or pendent coats, who are so devout *within* the church, quite forgetting the pious occasion. Even at the very church door, they may be seen buying and eating sweetmeats, especially masses of *nougat*—of which the Italians are as fond as American school-girls are of "Everton taffy"—and playing various games, *mora*, and a kind of skittles, or ten pins, on the ground, at which they are very dexterous. A game over, they crowd their edibles into pocket, walk into church, kneel, murmur an *Ave* or a *Pater Noster*, cross themselves with holy water, march out again, and a minute afterwards may be found deeply engaged in Mora, shouting, yelling, swearing, gesticulating and motioning with all that shrillness, rapidity, and vehemence, which is peculiar to them, and which at once astonishes and alarms the stranger—though really it is but "a way they have," and not dangerous nor a proof of depravity, in the least.

However, I am able to state that not every day is a festa, or saint's *fête* and holiday, in Genoa, although they occur quite frequently, and during the entire autumn the shops are closed and the people dressed up at least twice or thrice a week, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday or the death—they do not care much which, but seem to rejoice equally over each occasion—of some canonical benefactor of the human race. Still, there *are* days not marked with a white stone in the almanac, days without a saint, but days nevertheless catalogued in our young friends' inventory as "days to be enjoyed without reserve." So, they had to look about them in search of what other amusements for the evening Genoa hold out, and their quest was quite as successful as that of Perceval de Galles after the San Greal, or Japhet after his unknown "parental." The theatre gave them many a treat. In Genoa are three theatres; four, indeed, only the fourth one is ancient, and is never opened, unless upon rare occasions, such, perhaps, as the unusual throng into the city the other day, when the French army disembarked there, *en route* for Lombardy, victory, Magenta, and Solferino. These establishments are the *Carlo Felice*, one of the finest opera-houses in Europe; the *Teatro Diurno* or day theatre, devoted to *comédie bourgeoise* and afternoon performances; and, the *Marionetti* theatre, where the famous Milanese puppet-show is often exhibited. Mr. Merivale rather pretended to look down upon the latter, as unworthy the consideration of a disciple of "high art," but Miss Helen Beale found these exhibitions irresistibly droll, and, being as fond of witnessing them as George was, succeeded in getting Merivale and Rupert to take her thither quite often. And really, as specimens of comprehensive, far-reaching, and nicely-adapted ingenuity, these puppet-shows are worthy of all praise. Nothing could be completer than this microcosmic imitation of the great world of the stage, in all its manifold appointments; and the puppet-stage had this advantage over the human stage, that, being moved mechanically, the actors of the Fantoccini never made a false gesture, and, their parts being read aloud behind the scenes, there was never any danger of failure from defective memory. These little actors, standing about three feet high in their boots, are able to discharge the entire round of dramatic functions, and their *repertoir* embraces an infinite variety of *rôles*. They play tragedy, comedy, farce, and the *ballet*, and, each actor confining himself to a single part, must of necessity attain to a rare perfection in it. How inimitably tragic is their tragedy! I do not see how any one can have the heart to laugh when Tancredi, rejected by the hard-hearted Serafina, draws his bodkin rapier, runs himself through, rolls his eyes, and dies—dying, to say the least, as naturally as *Edgardo* in *Lucia di Lammermoor*, when he gasps out in the most agonizingly exquisite of tenor voices,

"Se divisi fummo in terra,
Ne congiunga il Nume in ciel!
Ne congiunga, ah! oh! Num' in ciel!
Io ti—i—se—guo!——oh——oh!"

As for the ballet, it is a fair "triumph of art." Never were seen such sorceries, such enchanters, such disappearances, such pirouettes, such unexampled apotheoses, such anatomical paradoxes *en action*, such miraculous vaulting, tumbling, aerial flights, Dantean monstrosities, Ovidean metamorphoses, and superb exploits upon wings venturous as those of Icarus, secure as those of Hermes! But when the farce comes on, then is the time to laugh! The inimitable grotesqueness of these Fantoccini would discompose and set at naught the gravity of the Grand Lama himself. Such irate old men, such impassioned "walking gentlemen;" and, as for the *gracioso*, the low comedian, he is, to use the words of Mr. Charles Dickens, "altogether insupportable." His winks are more full of humor than Burton's; his grimace exceeds that of Grassot, and for grand, double-jointed, tying-himself-into-a-double-bow-knot suppleness, the familiar instance of the eel does not tell half his powers.

"And why should she not enjoy it?" said Merivale, when Rupert was reproving his sister for her excessive hilarity one night, as they were witnessing a comedy showing off "The Englishman in Italy." "Do you not know that there is a wondrous degree of significant wisdom symbolically *perdue* under these grotesqueries? It is only the '*Silenus Alcebiadis*' in one of its divers and Protean manifestations."

"And, moreover," remarked Miss Helen, looking up with an air of inimitable gravity, "brother forgets that I am preparing myself to become a dramatic writer, and we have the testimony of your favorite, Goethe, that there is no better school for the dramatist than the puppet-show. He says that the puppets his grandmother gave him at Christmas 'unfolded a new world to him. This unexpected drama attracted our young minds with great force,' says he; 'upon the boy (himself) particularly it made a very strong impression, which continued to vibrate with a great and lasting effect.'"

And, indeed, we may legitimately assume that, as masks and mummery mysteries of Coventry and representations of sacred history were the rough and barbarous prelude in the dark ages of the drama, as it afterwards rose to splendor and perfection, so these lasting impressions of the puppet-show upon the boy's plastic memory and mind were the germ from which sprung and the nucleus from which was developed eventually that infinite Cosmos, *Faust.* Miss Beale, however, was possessed by no such abstract notions. She went to see the Fantoccini, and liked them, as she did not scruple to inform her brother and Mr. Merivale, "simply because they are funny, and make me laugh!"

For the National Era.

THE WEST.

BY H. B. NORTON.

Our own broad plain-land, stretching wide
From where Ohio's waters flow,
To far Columbia's swelling tide,
And steep Nevada's horns of snow;
From shores which tropic billows lave,
To where Superior's rise and fall,
And rushing storm, and rolling wave,
Boom a deep monody o'er all—
Though brighter flowers in light may gleam
On Orinoco's forest shore,
And Eden valleys softly dream
Where Cydnus' sparkling waters pour;
Though scenes of love, and light, and song,
In sunny Italy may shine,
And dim, mysterious legends throng
Around the castle-haunted Rhine;
Though many a fairy island lies
Where flows the sweet Pacific breeze,
And brightly glow the Grecian skies
Above the sunny Cyclades—
Yet for our own loved father land
Our swelling hymns of joy shall rise,
Though bards may sweep, with fiery hand,
The harp that sings of other skies.

Though here is seen no ruined tower,
No abbey-pile its grandeur rears,
Instinct with lore of feudal power,
And legends of departed years,
Yet there is food for romance still;
It hovers o'er each verdant vale;
And lake and forest, plain and hill,
Have each their shadowy, mystic tale.
The records of the fading race
Who trod these plains in days of yore,
Who withered from the white man's face,
And passed away forevermore.
The records of the daring band,
The stern of heart and strong of limb,
Who wrenched the lovely Eden-land
From nature wild and savage grim.
The records of that human tide,
Which, swelling, deepening, onward pours,
Through mountain gorge and prairie wide,
Toward far Pacific's startled shores,
Bearing upon its foremost crest
Free Labor's conquering triumph-car,
To where, far down the golden west,
Beams forth the flashing Sunset Star!
The shining plow speeds on its course,
And with a foot that ne'er can tire
Right westward rolls the Iron Horse,
The thunder-steed of cloud and fire!

New empires spring, wherever stands
The Saxon's foot, with thunder shod,
And desert wilds, and prairie-lands,
Bloom like the Eden of our God
New thoughts speed on their conquering way;
New light moves forth with tread sublime;
The dawning of a better day
Gleams down the sky of Coming Time.

And while, beneath that brightening morn,
The darkness passes from our shore,
May Plenty ope her golden horn,
And Peace brood round us evermore.
Still be thy meteor flag unfurled,
And still thy watchword Onward be,
Young giant of this later world—
The broad, bright land of Liberty!

Illinois, Feb, 27, 1860.

For the National Era.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN LIFE.

"And so," concluded my friend, sorrowfully, "my life has been a failure." I had not time to reply to his remark, for he quickly turned from me and walked away. But long after he had passed from sight, I seemed to hear the words in his own sad tone, repeated by the gentle murmur of the evening wind, "Life has been a failure."

Fortune, indeed, had never smiled on my friend—a successful man, in the ordinary acceptation of that word, he had not been. Bereft of both parents at an early age, he was left a poor and friendless boy; and now, when he had reached middle life, he was still dependent on his daily toil for the maintenance of his family. He had failed to amass wealth; his wife was an invalid, and death had borne away his first born child, his only son. He was naturally reserved, and had never spoken of himself to me until on that still summer evening, when he had glanced rapidly at the chief incidents of his personal history, and had wound up his narrative by the above conclusion, to which my heart could not respond; for, under all the discipline a Father's hand had sent, he had held fast his integrity, had been not only a moral man, but an humble and generally a cheerful Christian. His words haunted me even after I had gained the solitude of my own apartment, and almost involuntarily, I cried, "O Thou All-Wise Father! What *is* the work that thou givest thy children to do on the earth, the great life-work upon which they may enter with perfect certainty of success?" The answer came from his own word, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." The heart is often likened to a garden where weeds and flowers are strangely and closely intertwined. O, what unceasing effort it costs to pluck up the poisonous weeds that are so firmly rooted there! What daily care in separating the rank growth of indigenous sin from the delicate exotics of heavenly origin! Say not that life has been a failure to the man who has this well-kept garden, even though he sing, in very truth, "No foot of land do I possess—no cottage in this wilderness." Again we are told that the heart is a temple in which every affection and passion has a separate chamber, and that, generally, those apartments that are occupied by pride, hatred, and all the passions which deface humanity, are well swept and garnished, while in the upper rooms of faith and reverence and love, cobwebs and dust do gather; and we seldom enter these, for by continued disuse they are not inviting to an immortal guest. But it is a temple that all *may* "keep," for love may enter her chamber, and there be so busy with deeds of charity, that it will become a well-adorned and comely apartment, where we shall love to rest and find heavenly peace. And faith from her window may so look out on the glories of the celestial city, on the pleasures that are at God's right hand, that the unseen world shall indeed become the *substance* and this earth the *shadow*.

If silver and gold have not filled our coffers, if worldly distinctions and influence have been withheld, if all earthly schemes have failed, and defeat has seemed to mark our whole pathway, yet, with the heart thus kept, life has been a brilliant success, a splendid victory, and the victor's crown will be awarded by a higher than earthly potentate. *

For the National Era.

THE MANNERS OF FOWLS.

I doubt not we have all experienced a peculiar thrill of pleasure, tinged it may be with the slightest shade of self-exaltation, when, in reading a favorite author, we have suddenly come upon some idea, clearly and beautifully expressed, that had previously been floating in our own brain, but in so chaotic a state that we had failed to give it form and permanency, by our inability to adjust to it appropriate language. This pleasure was mine when I first read the following sentence in Hawthorne: "All hens are well worth studying, on account of the piquancy and rich variety of their manners." Then the novelist and statesman, the author of world-wide renown, had studied the manners of hens, even as I had done, and still continue to do, as I watch the daily life of our domestic fowls, as they stray from their own legitimate domain, to revel in the delights of a newly-mown clover field, just under my window. It is wonderful how many phases of human nature they exhibit. For instance, the hero of the farm-yard, the lord of the harem, as he struts along on those ungainly stilts. Look at him! The very picture of an arrogant, pompous, blustering, cock-o'-the-walk, as he is! Good sir, deign to inform us, inferior humans, *why* you take those airs upon yourself. What is the ground of your pretensions? You admit the peacock to be insufferably vain; but when with immense satisfaction he spreads out his glories to the admiring gaze of mortals, we *do* admire, while we deprecate the motive of the gorgeous display. But pray, sir, what can *you* show us? Your colors are brick-red and black, a dingy white, and invisible green. We are compelled to whisper in your ear, with more candor than civility, it may be, that personal beauty is not your dower. And I have no great confidence in your bravery, albeit your stride is martial, and your air commanding. Have I not seen you put to flight by the veriest puppy? As if to answer my inquiries, Chanticleer approaches, stands on tip-toe, cocks an eye towards his defamer, and prepares to crow. With wings partially extended, and feathers erect, he opens his immense bill, and—a clarion blast indeed. Another, and still another, and each one nearer, clearer, shriller, than before. I cry you mercy! I yield my point, and concede that your pride is justifiable, founded on the same claim as that of the nobility of the earth—*hereditary descent!* Your ancestry stalked on the Celestial Empire. You and Confucius have one common father-land!

Turn we now to the gentler sex; and first, let me introduce to your notice and acquaintance this fair young dame with the gray mantle and snow-white collar. Quaker-like in costume, petite though symmetrical in figure, we recognise no near relationship between her and the gentleman that we have just left. Fair representative of the race of Bolton Grays! I made your acquaintance early one spring morning, at our kitchen door, when in maternal pride and joy you brought your brood of nine young chickens, as beautiful and as sprightly as ever gladdened a mother's heart, and boldly [illegible] You were no cringing, half-scared petitioner, with bustling feathers and nervous cluck. Self-possessed and dignified, you introduced me to your darlings, and then with winning confidence came upon the door-step, to my very feet, and received the breakfast from my hand that you crumbled for your helpless brood. I looked on admiringly, thinking the while that you were all gentleness and love; when, suddenly, three daring Chinese robbers protruded their bills on your very table. Quicker than a flash, that tender mother was transformed to a fighting soldier! Quicker than thought, those impudent marauders were routed! Shade of Joan of Arc, tremble for your laurels!

But, like other characters that we have known, this young mother was not quite as careful to abstain from peccadilloes herself as she was to punish them in others, as certain depredations in our garden can testify. Onions and beets, tomatoes and parsnips, that had fairly got started in the world, and gave promise of an early and an abundant harvest, fell under her remorseless talons, till the patience of our factotum was exhausted, and our heroine was actually caught, and shut up in a hen-coop! Ignoble captivity it was, and keenly she felt the shame and disgrace of the whole transaction. Express her just indignation by her own vernacular clucking and cackling, spiteful though it was, she could not; and I blush to say that she actually attempted a crow, as with angry strides she paced the narrow enclosure of her temporary prison.

But while she stormed, the sun shone, dew fell, and vegetables grew—grew beyond her power to harm—and, at length, liberty was restored to the captive.

I am sure I cannot account for the instinct that taught her the sudden rise in the market value of eggs; but certain I am, that, soon after the fact was established, she called her family together one morning, and gave them to understand that hereafter they must look out for themselves, for she had other business on hand; and then, all heedless of their entreating peep, she walked away with the firmness of a Spartan matron. She sought and found a pleasant spot, and shady, under a currant-bush, and from day to day she announces, by three loud cackles, that we can there find one more addition to our store of eggs. Then she wanders to the favorite clover field, but not to seek the companionship of her feathered kindred. Apart from them, she hunts for grasshoppers and other viands relished by the not fastidious palates of hens. In her exclusiveness she keeps up a continued croak, indicative of perfect contentment and an approving conscience.

And who, in these days, when woman's mission and woman's capacity and woman's rights are so much speculated upon—who will not say that one who is so self-reliant and fearless, so prompt and forgiving, so cheerful and diligent—nay, one who has proved herself equal to any and all emergencies—has not fully established her claim to be the *equal* (save the mark!) of the——Shanghai gentleman of earlier notice? *

A METHODIST PREACHER DRIVEN FROM HIS WORK.—Benjamin Brown, a colored Methodist preacher, sent by the Conference to labor among the colored people of Milford and Slaughter Neck, was arrested on Friday last, at the instigation of some of the citizens of Slaughter Neck, for being a non-resident. He was taken before Esq. Revill, who was compelled by the law to fine him fifty dollars. He was also ordered to leave the State in five days, or again be subject to fine and imprisonment. It seems that, besides preaching on the Sabbath, he had opened a school, in which free colored children in great numbers were learning to read and write, and this excited the opposition that was manifested in enforcing an inhuman law. The preacher is said to be a quiet, peaceable, intelligent man His work among the free negroes of this vicinity was elevating and improving them; but this many white men are opposed to—never seeming, while they abuse the negroes for their immoral and vicious practices, to consider that it is their ignorance and degradation that makes them so, and, to remove which, intelligence and moral elevation is absolutely necessary. Ignorance is the mother of vice, and knowledge is the father of virtue, among all classes of men.

Many of our citizens have since signed a petition to the judge for this county for a permit to allow Brown to remain and attend to the duties to which he has been assigned by Bishop Scott, but the judge has not yet granted it. Brown was ordained a deacon in the church by Bishop Waugh, late of Baltimore, and to elder's orders by Bishop Baker.

A son of Brown was also engaged in teaching in Milford, but, on receiving notification, be left the town, and probably the State.

"Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto *one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*"—*Milford* (*Del.*) *News.*

No. VI.

INKLINGS FROM THE FRONTIER;

OR,

Life and Observations among Civilized Indians.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., *Feb.* 13, 1860.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Positively, my dear friend, when I began jotting down this series of inklings, I intended to make only a few preliminary remarks, probably not more than a column or two in the *Era*, and then proceed at once with a personal narration of incidents in daily life, and observations among the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. But, like an inexperienced swimmer, who ventures out into the deep and swift current, I have suffered myself to run into a subject, connected with a train of thought, from which I find it hard to extricate myself. Having once entered upon this subject, ideas after ideas continued to present themselves, and line after line continued to fall from my pen, till now I find myself entering upon the manuscript of my sixth letter. I sincerely hope, however, that I have succeeded in eliciting your kind attention, and awakening an interest in the cause I plead—the cause of our too-much-neglected red brethren. The subject is one that ought to interest you, if it does not.

But I am not yet through with preliminary remarks. *If* you have been patient thus far, hear with me through a few more preliminary paragraphs; then, if my subject and my style of narrative are adequate, I will endeavor to make amends for those letters that may have appeared dull to some.

The Indians who inhabit this Territory have already become considerably advanced in civilization. But their rapid progress, I verily believe, is owing more to the intelligence and the noble efforts of energetic and influential men of their people, than to any wise and well-directed aid they have received from our Government. Much can yet be done for them. It is not yet too late to give them the benefit of aid long neglected. Yet, from present indications, from the direction political straws are wafted athwart the horizon of party tactics by the political breezes, I infer that instead of rendering real and substantial good, of doing justice to the young communities struggling to take an honorable position in the scale of civilization, a party of politicians are conniving at plans to cheat them out of their territory, that the area of slavery may be extended and the slave power augmented. Senator Johnson's bill (which did not pass) was the first move in this direction. Time and Congressional proceedings will show what the next will be. I merely mention this matter, hoping that the friends of free labor and India[illegible] will be prepared to meet the issue, in whatever shape it may next present itself.

Aside from those civilized tribes or nations there are many comparatively wild and savage tribes, demanding the attention and fraternal care of our National legislators.

Having presumed to condemn the system heretofore pursued by Government and those who have undertaken to ameliorate the condition of our aborigines, and asserted that their efforts have not been so fruitful as could be expected, it is but fair that I should, in as few words as possible, point out a system which I think would prove far more efficacious.

Even where Government has set beneficial movements and measures on foot, injudicious and incompetent agents have *pretended* to carry them out in but a spiritless and faithless manner. All the best-laid schemes have been but incompletely executed. Hence, the many failures of Government, and the great discouragement of philanthropists.

Let Government, aided by benevolent societies, at once set about the work of doing the poor Indian justice in real earnest, and but a few decades will have elapsed, ere we will see new and vigorous communities springing up all along our frontier; and instead of savage foes, we will have intelligent, industrious, and peaceful neighbors, lending a helping hand to work out our great national destinies—that is, if the fire-eaters don't manage to slide out of the Union, and drag our South after them.

The more wild and savage tribes should be dealt gently with at first. Give them herds of cattle, and learn them to preserve and propagate them. Teach them that it is better to be in possession of vast herds of cattle, of hogs, sheep, and domestic fowls, than to be dependent on buffaloes, and other wild animals, which are becoming scarcer and scarcer every year, and the first important step in their progress towards civilization is accomplished. Agriculture, the mechanical arts, religion, and literature, will then gradually, but surely, follow. Civilization should not be forced upon them too rapidly, nor should they be placed under too much restraint. Children learn to crawl before they can walk. Sources of athletic sport and manly amusement should be devised, and presented to them, in lieu of the excitement of war and the chase. Gradually wean them from their savage habits and superstitions notions, before attempting to instill lessons of Christianity and civilization.

In order to carry out a new plan of civilization, let Government exert itself to induce all, or as many of the Indian tribes as possible, to enter into treaty stipulations, whereby the Indians, on one part, agree to settle in some country fixed upon, and the Government, on the other part, agrees to then and there take them under paternal care, and teach them a new and a better life. The humanizing influences of the most simple arts should first be brought to bear upon the yet untamed and untutored savage. As has already been intimated, years of experience have demonstrated that it is bad policy to shock the natures of savages by attempting to force upon them the highest acquirements and attainments of a civilization of eighteen centuries standing.

Yet much can be done by a systematic and well-directed system of training. For each tribe or community thus settled, let there be an agent or superintendent appointed, and let him be a man every way qualified to discharge the duties of his office in this noblest and most laudable of all human undertakings. He should be solely actuated by pure and disinterested motives, with an "eye single" to the welfare of the Indian, because he holds the responsible position which the guardian of another man's children does.

But the agent should only be the head, the chief, of an able corps of good men and women, entirely devoted to the task of humanizing the savage, and developing his God-given mind. Every branch of industry, every useful art that can be made advantageous to an embryo community of civilized Indians, should be represented by a master and assistants. There should be competent persons to take charge of the business of preserving and managing all domestic animals and fowls that Government introduces for breeding. Farming utensils, and all the simple tools used by early pioneers, should be furnished by Government. Log cabins, or small and cheap houses, should be immediately built for the chiefs and principal men, that the common people may take pattern by them in constructing domiciles for themselves. Granaries for storing the products of the farm, as well as sheds and enclosures for the protec-

tion of cattle, domestic fowls, &c., should also be constructed.

One of the first objects of the missionaries should be to teach the Indians the use of tools, and the benefit of agricultural pursuits; and they should never be required to labor but for their own advantage. Thus they will gradually take an interest in their own present and future welfare, and learn to provide for themselves.

As they progress towards civilization, great pains should be taken to discover and foster every inclination or aptness of individuals for any of the arts that may be introduced for their benefit. A central point, in the territory assigned to each tribe, should be selected, whereat to locate the capital town; and at this place should be built permanent edifices for the advancement of knowledge, arts, and sciences. Here should be a good, substantial, and comfortable church edifice, one calculated to make a favorable impression on the Indian mind, and inspire it with a sense of reverence; a principal school, or college, where those who progress rapidly may be taught any of the branches of education they may prove themselves capable of receiving; a printing establishment, where the Holy Scriptures, and such simple literature as may be within their comprehension, may be translated and published in their own language. Here, also, should be erected suitable buildings for the reception of boys and young men as apprentices to the various mechanical arts, the same as students are admitted into our institutions of learning, where carpenters, wagon and plough makers, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, saddlers and harness makers, coopers, hatters, boot and shoe makers, tailors, &c., &c., could be graduated as masterworkmen in their respective arts, and made useful in the development of their people. Flouring mills and saw mills, wool factories and tanneries, should also be established and sustained by Government. They should be supplied with physicians, appointed by Government, and compensated in part by a salary, and in part by regulated and moderate fees from those receiving their services.

Military forces should be stationed at convenient points, not too near the Indian settlements, however, for the purpose of maintaining a complete non-intercourse with vicious white men. No traders whatever should be allowed to traffic with them, but in their stead factors should be appointed, to furnish them with such articles as they need, at cost and transportation prices. Whatever annuities may be allowed them should be paid in live stock, blankets, clothing, food, and farming utensils and tools, and not in money, as heretofore.

Liberal prices should be paid them for all agricultural productions, and any work in the mechanical arts they may be able to do. But as long as they can sell their buffalo robes and peltries, they neglect the pursuits of civilization for the chase. Therefore, a traffic in peltries should be abandoned and discouraged.

Colonel Cook, in his book, suggests a similar plan for aboriginal civilization. But as a book of that character probably never reaches even a tenth part of the number of intelligent readers that a newspaper like the *Era* does, I have ventured to pen the foregoing lines, hoping that that they may awaken a train of thought which will eventually lead to the right action in the right quarter.

Even here, among the civilized Indians with whom I am sojourning, the sad neglect of Government, and the want of Christian churches and benevolent societies, are badly felt. Although I have been with them more or less for the last three years, I have never seen an Indian, either full-blood or half-breed, who was a mechanic.

Some of them are engaged in merchandise and trade; but the greater part of them are in the agricultural and stock-raising interest. All their wagons, carriages, harness, farming implements, household furniture, and even the clothes they wear, come from the East, and bring enormous prices.

Some political economists may object to the afore-hinted-at plan of aboriginal civilization, on account of its expensiveness. But this is not a question of dollars and cents, of profit or loss, but a great question of national policy, involving the rights and the feelings of those from whom we have obtained much, and for whom we have done little.

Is it not the duty of the American people to save from utter oblivion those feeble, helpless remnants of tribes which we have slaughtered, [illegible] the land—the homes they loved so well, and so freely bled for? Many brave tribes, alas! have gone; and the only memorials they have left us are to be found on the loved pages of Cooper, Irving, Longfellow, and others of our choicest writers.

But, even on the score of economy, Government would undoubtedly find this plan of Indian treatment—this mode of atoning for former wrongs—far cheaper in the end, than the policy it has heretofore pursued, or any other it may adopt.

Had justice been done the nations in this Territory, had they received the proper attention and fostering care, another state of things would exist to-day, and these people would have assumed an honorable and exalted position among the sisterhood of States. The present Congress would have, to assist them in their deliberations, Indian Senators and Indian Representatives.

Guy Oakleaf.

CASSIUS M. CLAY IN NEW YORK.

This fearless champion of free speech and free institutions had a reception in New York, two weeks ago, worthy of his great fame as an orator and a statesman. Guns were fired in the park on the announcement of his arrival from New Haven, where he had been on a lecturing tour; and his hotel was surrounded by an admiring and enthusiastic crowd, cheering lustily for the heroic son of old Kentucky.

On Wednesday night, he addressed an immense crowd at the Cooper Institute, on his favorite theme, the progress and principles of Republicanism. His remarks were frequently interrupted with loud shouts of applause—a noble tribute to their truth and power. We lay before our readers the following abstract of his speech, which may give them a faint idea of its quality:

Mr. Clay, referring to the freedom of speech and of the press, thanked God that he had lived to see the downfall of their enemies and the triumph of their friends. James Buchanan, elected by fraud and by a minority of the people, in vain trampled under foot the avowed popular sovereignty of the Cincinnati platform. The Republicans of Kansas proved too powerful for Government patronage, the public purse, and the Federal sword; Kansas is not a "slave" but a free State! The elections since show a regular progress of Republicanism; and the election of a Republican Speaker in the popular branch of the National Council proclaims the downfall of the slave power, to rise no more forever!

Mr. Clay proceeded to show that the Democratic party stands before the country self-condemned, and took up and answered, one by one, the charges brought by Democrats against the Republicans. To the blue lodges of Missouri he traced the Kansas troubles, the border hordes of that State marching into the Territory, with arms displayed and banners flying—a voter not being judged by the Constitution and the laws, but, if he failed to answer the question, "Are you sound on the goose?" satisfactorily to them, was compelled to fly for his life, and many were thus killed and wounded.

He denied that the recent raid of John Brown on Virginia was the effect of Republican principles, but the legitimate result of Democracy, that party having encouraged the taking possession of Kansas by force of arms; and that John Brown, crazed by the inhuman treatment of his sons by the border-ruffian slaveholders, like the red man, warred upon his foes wherever they were found. After briefly stating the substance of the Dred Scott case, he censured the Supreme Court for departing from a purely-legal issue between master and slave, and deciding political questions foreign to the case under consideration, citing the opinions of Judges McLean and Curtis in defence of his condemnation of that decision. Notwithstanding that judgment, he asserted that Congress had a right to prohibit slavery in the Territories, and that the Constitution and actions of the fathers of the Republic would sanction such prohibition.

The constitutional rights of citizens were next mentioned, and it was shown that, in fifteen States of the Union, they were trampled under foot by that power which now controls the entire Government. [A voice from the audience here exclaimed that the slave oligarchy had never been able to drive him (Mr. Clay) away.] "No," he replied, "and I will tell you the reason why: I represent a principle; the laboring man of Kentucky knows that I am his friend, and, whenever I speak, they gather around to defend their standard-bearer; and whenever, in the Commonwealth of Kentucky, I choose to speak, none dare injure me.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, March 4.—The steamer Africa, from Liverpool on the 18th ult., arrived here this forenoon.

The steamers Nova Scotian, Teutonia, and Circassian, arrived out on the 16th, and the steamer Fulton on the 17th.

Lord Glanville had announced in the House of Lords that France would do nothing regarding the proposed annexation of Savoy to her dominions without consulting the great Powers and obtaining the consent of the inhabitants.

The attention of the English people was mainly concentrated on the budget. Meetings upon it, *pro* and *con.*, had taken place in all directions. The conservatives show increasing hostility to both the budget and the commercial treaty with France.

Lord John Russell stated in the House of Lords, in answer to a question, that Lord Elgin's going to China again was not yet finally arranged; also, that the correspondence was progressing relative to the free participation of British shipping in American coasting and trade with California.

The British army estimates show an increase of nearly £2,000,000 sterling.

It is denied that Austria has yet replied to the English propositions on the Italian question.

It is said that Russia rejects the propositions.

The Paris Bourse closed firm at 67f. 70c.

The position of the war in Morocco is unchanged. The Moors are said to have asked for peace.

Liverpool Breadstuffs Market.—Messrs. Richardson, Spence, & Co. quote: Flour closed dull and difficult to sell at 23*s.* a 28*s.* 6*d.* Wheat quiet—red 9*s.* 6*d.* a 10*s.* 6*d*; white 10*s.* 6*d.* a 12*s.* Corn is dull and quotations barely maintained—yellow 33*s.* a 33*s.* 6*d.*

Liverpool Provision Market.—Beef is steady and in good demand. Holders offer freely, but show no disposition to press sales. In some cases a decline of 2*s.* 6*d.* has been conceded. Pork closed firm; new 75 a 80*s.* Bacon is firm and in good request. Lard dull at 50*s.* a 53*s.*, but closed steady at 58*s.* 6*d.* a 60*s.* for fine.

Liverpool Produce Market.—Sugar closed steady. Coffee closed quiet. Rice dull. Rosin steady at 4*s.* 6*d.* Spirits turpentine closed firm, and all qualities slightly advanced; sales at 36*s.* 6*d.* a 37*s.* Tea closed firm.

ADDITIONAL BY THE AFRICA.

Great Britain.—It seems to be settled that the second daughter of Queen Victoria, the Princess Alice, is to have as husband the young Prince of Orange. The marriage is to take place on the anniversary of the Queen's birthday, on the 24th of May next. This intelligence comes to us from Brussels, to which city the young couple are to pay a visit after their union. King Leopold, the great uncle of the bride, is making preparations to receive them in the Belgian capital. The Princess will enter on her eighteenth year in April, and the Prince will have attained the term of manhood in September. The marriage is likely to be popular in England, where the memory of William the Dutchman is still held in high regard.

The ironmasters of Glasgow have agreed to keep all their furnaces out of blast for another fortnight.

The death of Dr. Murray, the Bishop of Rochester, is announced.

The land forces of the British army are fixed by the army estimates at 143,000, being an increase of nearly 6,500. This is in addition to the East Indian army, which numbers 92,000. In the navy, there are 48 screw ships of the line afloat, and 11 more building. Other vessels, easily converted into ships, would make the number 71.

France.—It is said that the French Government has entered into relations with Russia, as a member of the Zollverein, with the view of negotiating a commercial treaty similar to that with England.

M. Thouvenal's circular to the French diplomatic agents, in response to the late encyclical letter of the Pope, is published, and has attracted attention. It apparently convicts the Pope of improperly using his spiritual office for political purposes. A dispatch from M. [illegible] is also published, explaining the present state of affairs in the Legations, and the causes for the same.

Italy.—The King of Sardinia arrived at Milan on the 15th of February, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm.

A new Roman loan has been negotiated with Belgian capitalists.

Nine hundred Bavarians, enlisted for the Papal army, had arrived at Ancona, and more were expected.

The great extent to which the enrolments in Austria for the Governments of Naples and of Rome are being carried on, and the unblushing way in which Austria allows this indirect violation of the principle of non-intervention, have roused the Piedmontese Government. M. Desambrois, the Sardinian Minister, it is said, delivered, before his departure, a note to the Cabinet of the Tuileries, protesting against the proceedings of the Austrians.

The Savoyards do not relish the idea of being transferred to France. If they are to be detached from Italy, they desire annexation to Switzerland. An address, signed by a considerable number of persons in Albertville, is very strong in the expression of its sympathy with Victor Emanuel and his dynasty.

Law and Order in Kentucky.—The Grand Jury of Campbell county, Kentucky, found bills recently against a number of persons—about twenty—for a riot in the destruction of Mr. Bailey's paper, the *Free South.* The State Attorney, hearing of the circumstance, argued the matter before them, taking the ground that it was the law that, where a nuisance existed which could not be reached by law, the people had a right to abate it. The jury sought the opinion of Judge Moore on the question, and he told them that it was the law; whereupon they reconsidered and quashed the indictments. The object being to check a movement in favor of emancipation, the step taken is such as one might naturally expect. Like a vast number of others taken by the slavery propagandists, it may prove, however, to be an egregious blunder. There are certain other institutions, as well as a free press, which may yet come in for similar treatment. Judge Moore has put a dangerous weapon into the hands of the enemies of slavery.

The circulation of the newspapers of New York city, respectively, is stated in an article in the Troy *Times* as follows:

Daily Tribune	39,000
Semi-Weekly Tribune	22,000
Weekly Tribune	212,000
Daily Times	36,000
Semi-Weekly Times	8,000
Weekly Times	13,000
Daily Herald	60,000
Weekly Herald	10,000 to 15,000
Daily Sun	50,000
Daily Express	25,000
Weekly Express	3,000
New York Ledger	400,000
Daily Day Book	500
Weekly Day Book	25,000
Daily Evening Post	5,000
Weekly Evening Post	12,000
Commercial Advertiser	1,500
Weekly Mercury	100,000
Harper's Weekly	75,000
Frank Leslie's	60,000
Home Journal	16,000
Daily News	3,000
Weekly News	18,000
Journal of Commerce	2,500
Courier and Enquirer	2,000

The Brandon (Miss.) *Republican* fairly hits the insincerity of the Democracy touching the slavery question, in the following rough but lively epigram:

"John Sherman, to prove you're bad,
But one remark suffices:
You endorsed Helper's book,
Called 'The Impending Crisis.'
John Letcher, you once endorsed
Ruffner's Abolition opinion;
But you were a Democrat, John,
And now Gov'nor of the Old Dominion.
John Sherman's a devil—John Letcher a saint;
(John Letcher's a Democrat—*John Sherman ain't.*)

Pennsylvania Delegates to Charleston.—*Washington, March 4.*—It is generally conceded that the action of the Reading Convention and the choice of delegates to Charleston are a signal Administration victory. The delegates it is claimed are, almost without an exception, strong friends of the President and supporters of his policy.

To Advertisers.—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the *Era.*

Messrs. Pettingill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Joy, Coe, & Co., are our authorized advertising agents for Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the *Era*: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innis, Salem, Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park, Mount Union, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1860.

☞ All letters for the *National Era* must be addressed to Mrs. M. L. Bailey, *National Era, Washington, D. C.*

The Index to Volume XIII of the *Era* is now ready, and will be furnished, free of charge, to any subscriber who may express a desire to have a copy.

The Republican National Convention—Change of Time.—Governor Morgan, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, has published a notice, changing the time of the meeting of the Chicago Convention to Wednesday, the 16th of May, instead of the 13th of June, as heretofore appointed. This change has been made by the Executive Committee, after correspondence on the subject with all the members of the National Committee at large.

We have no doubt this change will meet the approbation of the great majority of Republicans throughout the country, as we are satisfied that an impression very generally prevailed among them, that the Convention should have been called at an earlier day than the 13th of June.

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S SPEECH.

Senator Seward's great speech, delivered on Wednesday last, which we to-day lay before our readers, was listened to with profound attention by the immense audience which crowded the galleries and floor of the Senate Chamber. The orator was equal to the occasion. He rose up to the height of the great argument. His statement of the issues which divide the great parties of the day was masterly, and carried with it a force of logic which completely baffled and almost dumbfounded his opponents on the other side of the Chamber. For once, the Republicans had a large majority in the galleries, and gave a most hearty though silent response to every word uttered by the speaker. At one moment only, the profound stillness was broken by irrepressible applause.

The speech occupied two hours and a half in the delivery, which no one could suppose, from an inspection of the full and perfect report which we to-day publish. But the manner of the speaker, always deliberate and impressive, was on this occasion eminently so, and the pauses were long and eloquent.

This speech, from its great merit, from the peculiar position of the orator, and the facilities for publication which now exist, will probably be more widely read than any single effort of the kind ever before delivered. Every Republican, whether friendly to the nomination of Governor Seward or otherwise, will be prompted, by a regard to the interests of the party and its principles, to give to it the widest possible diffusion. It is at once eminently wise, able, and eloquent; and, if possible, every man in America capable of reading should receive a copy of it.

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.

The opposition of all shades in Pennsylvania seem highly delighted with the nomination of Colonel Curtin for Governor. The Philadelphia *Press*, Mr. Forney's paper, speaks of him in terms of the highest praise, as a man of character and ability, in whose hands the interests of the State would be well cared for.

The Opposition Convention also put Senator Cameron in nomination for the Presidency, and issued an address, in which his qualifications for that high office are set forth.

The Slave Democracy held their Convention last week at Reading, and nominated Henry D. Foster for the office of Governor. They also elected Senator Bigler, John L. Dawson, William Montgomery, Joseph Baker, Richard Vaux, and John M. Cline, as delegates at large to the Charleston Convention.

The Convention endorsed the Administration in its foreign and domestic policy, declared in favor of a protective tariff, the Cincinnati platform as interpreted by the Administration, and in favor of remitting all Territorial questions to the decision of the Supreme Court—in other words, it endorsed the Dred Scott decision.

Position of Alabama.—The Democratic State Convention of Alabama lays down in the most explicit language the principle of Congressional intervention for the protection of slavery in the Territories, and instructs the delegates from that State to the Charleston Convention to insist upon their adoption. If the National Convention refuses to engraft upon the platform of the party the principle of protection to slavery, prior to the nomination of candidates, then the delegates are instructed to return home, without further complicity in its proceedings.

Republican State Convention at Wheeling.—The Wheeling *Intelligencer* contains a call for a Virginia State Convention of the Republican party to meet in that city on the 2d day of May. The object of the Convention is to send delegates to the Chicago Convention. The terms of the call are the same as those of the National Committee's call, issued some weeks ago from New York.

North Carolina Opposition Convention. The North Carolina Opposition Convention nominated the Hon. William A. Graham, of that State, for President, and the Hon. Washington Hunt, of New York, for Vice President.

The Dial.—We noticed the prospectus of this monthly magazine some time ago. Three numbers have made their appearance, and evince ability, learning, and spirit. The *Dial* is edited at Cincinnati, by the Rev. M. D. Conway, and may be regarded as an exponent of the transcendental philosophy. Its ideal is perfect freedom—intellectual, moral, and political.

Spirit of the American Press.—This is the title of a new weekly journal, published in New York, at 363, Broadway. Terms $2 per annum, in advance. It is edited by B. Everett Smith and Frederick A. Petersen. The *Spirit* is unique in idea, consisting entirely of extracts from the leading journals of America, as its title imports. It is a good idea.

Benton's Abridgment, Vols. XII and XIII, have been received, and will receive a more particular notice next week.

Also, the first volume of Janney's History of the Society of Friends.

The Mormons.—The Mormons now number 120,000, including good, bad, and indifferent. The number in Utah is put down at 38,000. Of these, 4,617 men have 16,500 wives.

Colonel Memminger's hotel bill, while stopping at Richmond for the purpose of dissolving the Union, amounted to above nine hundred dollars, which was paid by the Virginia Legislature.

THE TAXATION ISSUE IN VIRGINIA.

Virginia, like North Carolina, has looming up in the distance a great practical issue, to be tried at no distant day, between free labor and slave labor. A writer in the Petersburg *Press* of the 17th ult. sounds the alarm, and warns the slaveholding class to resist further schemes for internal improvements at the expense of the State, as the only safeguard against a threefold increase of taxes upon slaves. He says:

"Virginia is able, willing, and determined, to repel all attacks from the abolitionists, their aiders, abettors, or sympathizers, whether found at home, at the North, or abroad. But I submit that during this excitement the Virginia Legislature is pursuing a course which, if not intended, will lead to taxation on the slave property in Virginia that will force the owners to dispose of that species of property."

The writer goes on to say, on the authority of the Auditor of the State, that the present indebetedness of Virginia is $35,452,129.63; and that schemes of improvement now pending before the Legislature, and calling for additional appropriation, amount to $6,000,000, making a total indebtedness of $41,452,129.63.

The enormous taxes necessary to meet the interest and redeem the principal of this debt are now imposed on a plan cunningly devised by the slaveholders for screening their favorite institution from its rightful share of the public burden. Land and other personal property than slaves are taxed according to their value; each hundred dollars worth pays an equal tax. But a most unjust exception from this fair rule is made in favor of slaves. All slaves of twelve years old and under are entirely exempt from taxes, while those above that age are valued at $300, and pay the same tax that is paid upon $300 worth of land fairly assessed. Now, it is well known that the slaves above twelve years of age will average in value at least $800. The writer whom we have quoted, who styles himself a "Tax Payer," estimates them at but $600, but his estimate is manifestly too low. He estimates those of twelve years and under, which are now entirely untaxed, at $300 per head, and those above at $600. It was ascertained last year, by an actual assessment, that there were in Virginia 511,154 slaves. Of this number, there were 237,984 of twelve years old and under, and, as we have said, not subject to taxation. The remainder, 273,170, at the valuation of $300 per head, amount in value to $81,951,000, and pay a tax of $327,804. Their true value is, at $800 per head, $218,536,000, and the taxation on them, at forty cents on the hundred dollars, which is paid by land, would amount to $874,144. The 237,984 slaves of twelve years and under, at $300 per head, are worth $71,395,200. The tax on these, at the *ad valorem* rate paid by land, would amount to $285,580.80. The total tax on slaves therefore, instead of being, under the present unequal and unjust system, $327,804, should be $1,159,724.80. It is thus apparent that the slaveholders of Virginia pay less than one-third the amount of taxes on slaves that would be imposed by an equal law of taxation.

The following figures will exhibit the proportional interest which each section of Virginia has in slavery, and in the present unjust system of taxation:

	Whites.	Slaves.	Tax on slaves.
Trans-Allegheny	416,636	26,488	$48,772
Valley	184,808	39,871	73,414
Piedmont	250,593	251,503	443,528
Tide-water	235,881	193,292	335,908

Eastern Virginia, embracing the Piedmont and tide-water districts, it thus appears, contains 486,474 whites, and 444,795 slaves; while western Virginia, which includes the Valley and trans-Allegheny regions, contains 601,444 whites, and only 66,389 slaves. It is also a well-known fact, that while the white population of eastern Virginia is nearly stationary, that of the western division of the State is rapidly increasing; and in five or six years more it will nearly or quite double the former in the number of electors.

Here, then, is the cause of alarm to the slave interest. That class have a well-grounded apprehension that the western counties will submit to the present unjust discrimination in favor of slavery, in the mode of levying taxes, no longer than necessity requires. In 1851 the Constitution of the State was revised, and a great struggle was made by the west to adjust the basis of representation in the Legislature upon the white population. It failed to accomplish this result; but a compromise was made, by which the numerical preponderance of white citizens in the west was given a small majority of representatives in the House of Delegates, and the east retained its majority in the Senate. By another provision, a readjustment of the basis of representation is to take place in 1865, at which time the numerical superiority of the west will assert itself in the establishment of the white basis, and the *ad valorem* or equal method of taxation.

The "Tax-Payer" whom we have quoted states that western members, in disregard of the Constitution, are even now demanding *ad valorem* taxation, and that ten votes in the Legislature were recently given for a resolution to that effect, right in the teeth of the Constitution. The writer justly apprehends that the people of the west will bear with the inequality no longer than the Constitution requires, and for this reason he is opposed to an increase of the public debt. Millions have already been spent in the east, for internal improvements, and he now coolly proposes to withhold similar improvements from the west, while he insists upon continuing the present discrimination in favor of slavery, in levying taxes. We give his concluding remarks, in which he accounts for the rejection of the resolution to which we have referred. He says:

"That resolution, no doubt, was opposed, because, first, the Constitution would not admit *now* of such a change. Secondly, the old members from the West are too cautious to flush their game so early. They know the strong point *now* is to *get the money* for their improvements, and tax slaves of all classes *after* 1865, when they will have the *power* to do so, in spite of the east.

"I again warn eastern members that we, the tax-payers, see in the distance the coming storm, and hope and trust they will guard our interest now that they have the power."

The tax on slaves above twelve years old is now only $1.20 per head. On the equal system demanded by the west, the tax on this class would be at least $3. The class of slaves which now go entirely untaxed would, under the *ad valorem* system, pay $1.20 per head.

Eastern Virginia is extensively engaged in rearing young negroes, either for domestic use or for the Southern market. Western Virginia is extensively engaged in breeding horses, cattle, and hogs, for home consumption or for the Southern market. Can any rational man explain on any grounds of justice why the West is taxed *ad valorem*, or according to their value, upon its horses, cattle, and hogs, while the far more lucrative business of slave breeding goes untaxed? Well may the slaveholders begin to "see in the distance the coming storm." But they will nevertheless not escape it. It is written in the book of fate, that western Virginia will, within seven years, assert its numerical superiority in the Virginia Legislature, and that the slaves will be taxed to their full value.

Mutiny of a Colored Crew.—*Charleston, March 5.*—The black crew of the British ship Aramingo mutinied yesterday, and one negro was placed in irons and another shot, but not mortally wounded. The other insurgents were arrested, and order was soon restored.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

The Charleston *Mercury* and the Richmond *Enquirer* hail with gratification the suggestion of the Mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, that the Democratic party is "*to be reconstructed by the National Convention about to be assembled.*" "For the first time," says Mr. Wood, "there is but one issue, and that issue is but life and death. Such stupendous consequences never were before dependent upon the action of a party—a party, as it were, to be reconstructed by the National Convention about to assemble; and as this result is dependent upon the success of this reorganized and recontructed party, so shall it rest with the Convention whether we shall have a party at all."

The *Mercury* and the *Enquirer* are delighted with these sentiments of Mr. Wood, and the latter goes out of its way to declare that Mr. Wood, with his Hard delegation to the Charleston Convention, must be admitted at every hazard. It says:

"The admission of the free-soil-Cagger-Cassidy delegation even, upon equal terms with Mr. Wood, would constitute an unwarrantable concession to free-soil proclivities. The exclusion of Mr. Wood and the Hard delegation would be an abandonment of principle, a coalition with free-soilism, that would render the Democratic Convention a by-word and reproach among honest men. We tell the Democracy that the day for equivocation has passed. No double-faced platform, meaning squatter sovereignty at the North, and its reverse at the South, can again succeed. Mr. Mason and Mr. Hunter, the Senators from Virginia, have months ago declared, from the floor of the Senate, that no man occupying Mr. Douglas's position upon territorial slavery could receive an 'individual vote' in Virginia. And no paper has contradicted the declaration, or questioned its propriety."

It is not at all improbable that the wishes of the *Enquirer* in this matter may be realized. The seats of the two delegations from New York being contested, they will be excluded from voting upon their own case. The South will be a unit in favor of the Wood delegates, and the North will, as usual, be divided; so that the chances of the admission of the Hard delegates, to the exclusion of the Softs, are by no means desperate. Prudence may restrain the Southern members of the Convention from taking that course; but nothing else can. With the Soft delegation thrown out, the Convention would move on with the utmost harmony. Protection to slavery in the Territories would be guarantied, and candidates nominated to correspond. Indeed, we have great doubts as to the ability of a Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston being able to resist the imperative demands of a united South. The men of dough who will go down there from the North will for the most part surrender at discretion to the imperious demands of the slave interest. If the Northern delegates represented majorities of the people, instead of very lean minorities, they might be tempted to show a little resistance. But to expect the self-constituted delegates from New England, who at most, only represent the Federal officials and a few hundred needy expectants of office, to set up their wills against those of the delegates from the South, is preposterous. Whatever be their resolutions now, we predict that their courage will ooze out at their finger ends, and that they will promptly register the edicts of the ruling spirits of the South. The action of the Convention, its platform, and its candidates, will therefore be just what the South chooses to make them. Southern prudence and magnanimity may concede more to their Northern allies than the latter, with their numerical majority, will have the moral courage to secure for themselves. But this remains to be seen. Such [illegible] liberality would be quite out the usual practice of the Southern Democracy; and while it would be the dictate of prudence, there is not much reason to expect it. The Northern allies of slavery have had foretastes of the mercy they may expect at Charleston, in the constitution of the Senate committees, of which no Northern Senator could be trusted with a respectable chairmanship, as well as in the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Senatorial Caucus, which utterly repudiate "popular sovereignty" in all its forms.

THE NORTH CAROLINA WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION—A FELO DE SE.

We took occasion, some weeks ago, to explain the nature and object of this Association, formed at Raleigh, by the leaders of the Democratic party. The Association contemplated a change in the State Constitution, so that slaves may be taxed, like other property, according to their value. The proposition is highly popular in the west, where there are comparatively few slaves, while in the eastern and midland counties it is held to be little less than treason to the slave interest. We rather sportively styled the movement "The Irrepressible Conflict in North Carolina," and accorded to it our warm approbation. The effect of our casual notice, we regret to perceive, has brought "woes unnumbered" to the Democratic party, and caused the precipitate dissolution of the Association! The truth is, that the opposition which the Workingmen's Association proposed to offer to the odious and unjust discrimination in favor of slavery in the system of taxation does involve a conflict between the interests of free labor and slave labor; but we had not the remotest idea of imputing anti-slavery sentiments or aims to the Reform party. Their earnest protestations of loyalty to slavery were not at all necessary to convince rational men that they were "sound." We say this much in justice to the more respectable and sincere men who engaged in the Workingmen's Association, because we are aware that some of them have been sorely tried by having their names associated as colaborers with the *National Era.* We last year gave a similar notice of the able speech of the Senator from Wake on this subject, and we then, in justice to that gentleman, took the precaution to allude to his strongly-expressed pro-slavery views. We are perfectly aware that he and those who associate with him have not the remotest idea of impairing the stability of slavery. Where such inequality of taxation exists, a conflict between the interests involved is inevitable and "irrepressible." But, in reality, those who insist upon holding on to the unjust system of taxes are responsible for the conflict between free labor and slave labor which it causes. It would argue a deplorable debasement of the non-slaveholding classes in North Carolina to suppose them ready to acquiesce in the injury to their rights. The west, at least, will not submit. If one class of politicians abandon the cause of the people, another will take it up, and we predict that it will be "irrepressible" until justice is done.

The effect of this cowardly abandonment of the cause of equal taxation by the Democratic leaders will be to put a powerful lever in the hands of the Opposition party, which will be used most effectually for their overthrow. It were a thousand times more lucky for them if they had never taken ground in favor of the reform. They now go before the country as the supporters of the old system, which they have condemned in an able address, and they will be kept continually on the defensive by their adversaries.

While the leaders of the Democracy are thus timidly abandoning the people's cause, in order to appease the eastern and middle counties, the Opposition, at their late State Convention, have had the good sense to take it up. The Whig party in North Carolina lost power ten years ago on a kindred issue, in regard to the right of suffrage; and we shall not be surprised if their residuary legatees shall regain it upon this taxation question, which possesses far more tangible value and importance.

It seems that we have not only gravely offended certain leaders of the Democracy in North Carolina, but that some of the "baser sort," too, are deeply incensed against us, from an ill-founded estimate of their consequence. Of this number is one "Frank I. Wilson, Esq.," as he styles himself, who has vindicated his reputation in a pamphlet filled with the best Billingsgate at his command. If, as he seems to suppose, we had been actuated by malice in writing the paragraph which has created so much trouble—if we had really designed to injure any one, we protest that we would have aimed at game worth the bagging. A random shot will sometimes break the wing of a foul bird, but no sportsman would aim at it, or defile his hands by taking it up.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY ILLUSTRATED.

The Kansas Legislature recently passed an act for the abolition of slavery, which Governor Sam. Medary, a Douglas Democrat from Ohio, after some hesitation, vetoed. But the Legislature again took up the vetoed bill, and repassed it by a more than two-thirds majority, thus setting the veto aside. The bill is brief, and to the point. It is as follows:

"Sec. 1. That slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory.

"Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

The Chicago *Press and Tribune* says that Governor Medary is a thorough-going Douglasite, in "body, bones, and breeches;" and if such is the case, this veto furnishes a fair illustration of the hypocrisy of the advocates of popular sovereignty. So long as the "popular sovereigns" vote for slavery, they are perfectly welcome to make their institutions to suit themselves; but if they presume to exclude from or abolish slavery in the Territories, the Federal Governors are bound, by their allegiance to the party, to interpose a veto.

If Mr. Douglas were President, the same result would follow. He would be sure to appoint Southern men to govern the Territories, and they would scorn to be governed by his pretended devotion to "popular sovereignty." It is equally certain that President Douglas would not feel called upon to remove a Territorial Governor for vetoing a bill abolishing slavery.

Have any of his numerous organs denounced Governor Black, of Nebraska, or Governor Medary, of Kansas, for vetoing the bills for the abolition of slavery?

THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD—SLAVERY PROPAGANDISM ORGANIZED.

This road is to extend from Shreveport, on the western border of Louisiana, through Northern Texas, and *via* El Paso to San Diego and San Francisco, in California. The distance between the first two points is seven hundred and eighty-three miles. From El Paso to San Diego is eight hundred and thirty-eight miles; so that nearly half the length of the proposed road lies in the State of Texas. That State has granted to the company eight million acres of land, and promised six thousand dollars per mile to aid in its completion; and the company are now applying to Congress for similar aid to the portion of the road which is to pass over the Territories. We have very little expectation that the road will be built during the next quarter of a century; but if the munificence of the Federal Government shall insure its construction, it is not at all probable that it would have trade enough to keep it going. It is entirely too far south to be the channel of commerce and intercourse with California, for the populous and wealthy Northern and Middle States; and the extreme South has too little commerce to make it pay expenses.

We learn that the company propose the construction of this road by slave labor, and for this purpose it contemplates the purchase of an army of negro slaves, and expects to sell them at original cost when the road is completed. We doubt the success of such an experiment, and we doubt whether a Republican Congress will vote money to a company to buy slaves. The effect of such a policy must be to deprive an equal number of freemen of employment, and at the same time to convert it into an immense slavery-propagandist machine. It is bad enough to tolerate slavery in New Mexico and Arizona; and it is monstrous to ask Congress to organize, equip, and pay, a company of slavery propagandists to go and stock them with slaves.

We are in favor of donating the public lands to companies, one or more, for the construction of railroads to the Pacific; but all such grants should be made on the express condition that none but free labor shall be employed in making or running the roads. If this condition is not made imperative, then Congress becomes the active aider and abettor in the extension of slavery. We have little doubt that the Northern slave Democrats will readily vote aid to the Southern Pacific railroad, without requiring the condition we have suggested, but no Republican or friend of free labor will be so blind to the welfare of the laboring classes as to do so. There are millions of white laborers in the slave States whose interests must be protected by Northern Republicans, since the representatives from the South, with very few exceptions, are merely the representatives of the slaveholders.

MR. DOUGLAS TAKES SIDES WITH THE BORDER RUFFIANS.

Mr. Douglas has returned to his first love. During all the Kansas troubles he stood up stoutly for the Border Ruffians, and denounced the Free State party. But in the autumn of 1857, in order to conciliate the free-soil sentiment of Illinois, and thereby secure a Democratic Legislature, and his return to the Senate, he turned against his old friends Atchison and Stringfellow, and "shrieked for freedom" most lustily. He kept up his shrieking all during the Illinois canvass of 1858, and acquired by it no little popularity among the Northern Democracy. But another exigency has now overtaken him. His apparent sympathy with freedom, or at least with common fairness, began to render him so odious in the South, that he ran imminent risk of losing the great prize which he "more than heaven pursues." He therefore goes back to the ground he occupied before the Senatorial campaign began. In his remarks in reply to Mr. Seward, on Wednesday last, Mr. Douglas emphatically denounces the Free-State men in Kansas as the aggressors, and apologizes for the infamous Border Ruffian invaders, who by thousands, and more than once, mustered their forces, marched into Kansas on election days, seized the ballot-boxes, stuffed them with spurious votes, and drove the citizens away by insult and outrage. Such are Mr. Douglas's friends. He said, on Wednesday last:

"The Senator from New York has also referred to the lamentable action of the people of New Mexico, in establishing a slave code for the protection of property in slaves, and he congratulates the country upon the final success of the advocates of free institutions in Kansas. He could not fail, however, to say, in order to preserve what he thought was a striking antithesis, that popular sovereignty in Kansas meant State sovereignty in Missouri. No, sir; popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by unholy combination in New England to ship men to Kansas—rowdies and vagabonds—with the Bible in one hand and Sharpe's rifle in the other, to shoot down the friends of free institutions and of self-government. Popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by the combinations in the Northern States to carry elections under pretence of emegrant aid societies. In retaliation, Missouri formed aid societies too; and she, following your example, sent men into Kansas, and then occurred the conflict. Now, you throw the blame upon Missouri, merely because she followed your example, and attempted to resist its consequences. I condemn both; but I condemn a thousand-fold more those that set the example and struck the first blow, than those who thought they would act upon the principle of fighting the devil with his own weapons, and resorted to the same means that you had employed."

It is scarcely necessary to say to the intelligent reader of the Era that this defence of Border Ruffian invasion and murder is founded in gross, palpable, and wilful misrepresentation. There is not a candid ruffian in Platt county who will not admit that this defence is utterly false and insincere. It is as heartless and as absurd as the wolf's charge against the lamb in the fable, and nothing but the hardihood of a desperate demagogue could confront an intelligent audience with such a statement.

THE SHOEMAKERS' STRIKE.

The shoemakers of Massachusetts, almost in a body, have struck for higher wages, those of Lynn taking the lead. As is usual with such movements, the strikers have not confined their action to a mere cessation of work, which would be perfectly legitimate and proper, but they have organized themselves into mobs, and endeavored to compel all others in the profession into their measures. This unwarrantable course has brought about collisions with the authorities, and in some cases has resulted in violence and bloodshed.

We cull the following particulars from the Massachusetts and New York papers:

"The illegal violence of the strikers is confined chiefly to preventing the expresses carrying lots of shoes out of town to be made. In several instances they attacked the express wagons, seized boxes of shoes, and either deposited them in the office of the *New England Mechanic*, whose editor, Draper, is the leader of the movement, or returned them to the shops from whence they came. A workman named Eaton, who had refused to strike, was surrounded by the mob, as he was taking a lot of shoes home to make, and was hustled about in a violent manner, denounced as a 'scab,' and treated to all sorts of abusive epithets. Draper, the leader, endeavored to persuade the man to join the strike, but he replied that he was making $12 per week, and believe he had a right to work, and to make his own bargains and choose his own employers.

"The superintendent of the Lynn workhouse, who was taking home a lot of shoes to be made by the paupers, was attacked in the street, but he drew a pistol, and the mob retreated. An expressman from Marblehead, who had a box of coffee in his wagon, was stopped, but he pitched into the mob, and levelled several of them, and then showed them that he had no shoes aboard, and drove off. During several rows, knives were drawn by some of the strikers, but the majority of them oppose the resort to deadly weapons, and assist the police in preserving order.

"It is said that the average wages of the workmen have not much exceeded $5 per week, but the better class make $9 and $12. The list of prices demanded by the strikers adds from ten to twenty-five per cent. to the present prices, according to the quality of the work. Several of the manufacturers have acceded to the new list of prices, and others have added to the old rates more or less. Several others say they are willing to do it, but will not seem to act on compulsion, and so wait till the strike is over.

"It appears," says a Massachusetts journal, "from the disclosures made, that there is a great difference in the prices paid by different manufacturers for the same kinds of work, and still greater difference in the wages earned by different workmen, some making $10 and $12 a week on the same work by which others earn but $3 or $4 a week. There seems to be need of an equalization of the scale of prices by agreement among the bosses, and on some kinds of work they acknowledge that they can afford to pay more than they do, while on other varieties they already pay all they can."

Many of the manufacturers, as well as other capitalists and business men, take sides with the strikers, in their legitimate efforts to obtain fair wages.

The advocates of slavery are endeavoring to make capital out of these strikes, by artful appeals to the laboring classes. They assert that the withdrawal of Southern trade consequent upon the "Abolition agitations" of the North have brought about a reduction of wages, and thus reduced free labor to the starving point. So far as we have read the complaints of the strikers, we have seen no reference whatever to a reduction of wages. The strike, if we are correctly informed, is not a protest against reduction, but a demand for higher wages. We sincerely wish success to the journeymen. The great defect of the social system is the necessity which constrains the laboring classes to work at such prices as capitalists choose to accord to them; and the great desideratum is the discovery of some remedy for the evil. Various devices have been tried by social experimenters for securing to labor its just reward; but, as yet, it is lamentable to think that nothing like success has been arrived at. Labor is entitled to something more than needful food and raiment. The laborer should be a sharer with the capitalist in the net profits of his toil, to be laid up for the support of himself and family. But how to secure this equitable distribution of profits, is the problem to be solved. Investigators of this social question have hitherto been ranked as visionaries; but the day is coming, and not distant, when it will engage the earnest attention of statesmen and political philosophers.

It is natural that the apologists of slavery should seize upon an occurrence like the shoemakers' strike, in order to disparage free labor; but the free laborer will never look to the champions of a system which allows no wages for succor. No friend of freedom will fail to sympathize with the journeymen. The friends of slavery will take the side of the employer, unless they are prompted by demagoguism to pursue a different course. The wages paid to the shoemakers of Massachusetts are ten-fold and even those paid to the girls employed in binding five-fold, higher than the wages of slaves—which are, according to a report made to Congress by R. J. Walker, when Secretary of the Treasury, $30 per annum. This sum covers the whole expense of supporting a full-grown slave, according to Mr. Walker's report, founded upon the statements of the Southern planters! Fifteen dollars for food and fifteen for clothing are the wages of an able-bodied slave—children and the aged half price!

The advocates of such a system, from Mr. Douglas down, will in vain attempt to gain the confidence of Northern freemen. The apologists for slavery have no hesitation in pointing to these evidences of distress on the part of the laboring classes in the free States as conclusive proof that freedom is a curse, and that the happiest condition of the laborer is slavery. Slaves never strike for higher wages, never organize themselves into mobs, and go about destroying property, and molesting private citizens. It is true that such strikes rarely take place among slaves, for the reason that the offence is punished with death. The gallows, the rack, and the fagot, are very effectual methods of keeping the people quiet, where it is practicable to apply them; but the free white laborers of America have not yet been brought under such discipline. When the theory of white slavery, promulgated by Democratic leaders, shall be reduced to practice, doubtless the white laborers will be as quiescent as the black ones.

Mr. Douglas in the South.—The *Mississippian*, the organ of the Democracy in that State, in referring to a report that sixty thousand dollars had been raised in Illinois, to be used in securing the nomination of Mr. Douglas at Charleston, says:

"This system of electioneering is in keeping with the conduct of the profligate gamester in politics, who, to retain his seat in the Senate, betrayed his party, and confederated with the Abolition agitators, who have brought the country to its present disordered condition. And it is worthy of the intriguant, who, to secure the support of the South for the Presidency in 1856, pledged himself to advocate principles which he has since repeatedly avowed he never in his life entertained.

"Is the procurer of corruption—as the above statement shows him to be—and the wilful falsifier of his own testimony, fit to be the standard-bearer of a party claiming to be honest?"

The Charleston *News* says:

"We do not speak unadvisedly, when we say that the South Carolina delegation will not submit to the nomination of Douglas, and that it will insist that the platform of the Convention shall contain an endorsement of the Dred Scott decision, that the Southern people are entitled to have their slave property protected in the Territories.

"It is as well to broach, at once and directly, the main proposition involved: to wit, that if Douglas is nominated, the *State* of South Carolina will not give him her electoral vote. That vote will be as potent to defeat the success of the Black Republican party, if given to another statesman, as if given to Douglas; while the refusal to cast it for that arch traitor and demagogue will but illustrate the dignity and constitutional views of South Carolina. Let the election, if necessary, fail in the Electoral College, and go into the House of Representatives, (where each State casts but one and an equal vote,) and let the issues come. They should come in an Assembly provided by the Constitution, and where there is official responsibility."

The *Daily Bulletin*, of Charlotte, North Carolina, endorses this sentiment, and hopes that South Carolina will carry it into effect.

From the Charleston *Mercury:*

"Squatter Sovereignty in Kansas—The Proof.—The correspondent of the New York *Times*, in letter dated 3d February, gives the practical working of squatter sovereignty in the Territory of Kansas. There are from four to five hundred slaves in Kansas. The Territorial Legislature has passed a bill liberating all the slaves in Kansas from the day the bill passes. They have likewise a bill under consideration to nullify effectually, by Territorial laws, the fugitive slave laws. We suppose that these Territorial laws will be arrested by the veto of the Governor of Kansas, as similar laws were lately by the Governor of Nebraska. But the action of these Territorial Legislatures shows clearly what must be the effect of Mr. Douglas's heresies, if he or any of his followers are intrusted with the Presidency of the United States. The election of Mr. Seward to the Presidency could not be more fatal to the rights of the South in the Territories. The Wilmot proviso and squatter sovereignty are but different expedients to appropriate all our Territories by the North."

At a Democratic ratification meeting held in Montgomery, Alabama, recently, the course of the State Convention was fully sustained, and a proscriptive resolution, especially aimed at Douglas, was adopted by 441 to 12. Some of the speakers on that occasion declared that they would prefer Seward, as their candidate, to Douglas.

The Democrats of Richmond county, Ga., met in convention on the 18th instant. In the contest between the friends of Cobb and of Stephens, the former were in the ascendant. A prominent speaker declared that Mr. Stephens had laid himself on the shelf for all time to come, on account of his supposed alliance with Senator Douglas.

The African Slave Trade.—According to correspondents on the African coast, the slave trade is flourishing extensively, notwithstanding the presence of a large force of United States and British vessels of war. It is said the vessels now engaged on the African coast in this traffic may be numbered by dozens, and that the larger part of them are owned by Americans, and have regular custom-house clearances. The captains of these vessels claim to be engaged in the palm oil business. Light-draught steamers, it is believed, would assist the Government effort to break up the traffic.

The *Tribune* correspondent, writing from on board the U. S. ship Portsmouth, St. Paul de Loando, says:

"The few months' experience we have had on the coast has not been altogether thrown away. It has thoroughly convinced us that the whole slave coast is, we may say, lined with slavers, who are generally from New York, cleared from the custom-house, bringing all the appliances of the trade with them, and manœuvring about on the coast, under various pretences and disguises of legal traffic—particularly under that most specious blind, the obtaining of palm oil, until, the favorable moment having arrived, the cargo is shipped, and a few hours finds them out of danger, on the way to the West Indies.

"Much ignorance prevails at home in relation to the true state of affairs on the coast. The *palm-oil trade* is supposed to be in a highly-flourishing condition. We are told that the competition between English and American merchants to obtain possession of this trade is so great, that they are almost ready to cut each other's throats, in their eager desire to run one another off the coast; and that it is the policy of England, through her navy, to annoy American vessels so much that they will not come for oil. *This opinion is wholly false.*"

The Texas Frontier.—The following is from the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *American*:

Washington, *March* 2, 1860.

Governor Houston, of Texas, has sent a special agent here, to seek aid from the Government in protecting Texas against alleged invasion. As he had previously made a similar application by telegraph, the facts are not materially different, though more enlarged in the one case than the other. The information in possession of the proper department gives a very different version of the troubles on the Rio Grande from that presented by Governor Houston. Cortinas is not a Mexican, as is charged, but a citizen of Texas, living within the limits of that State, and subject to its authority. It is well known that he opened the jail at Brownsville, and recruited his band from among the prisoners and vagabonds whom he found confined there, and has since plundered both sides of the river, as booty or opportunity offered an inducement. Some Mexicans may have been subsequently enlisted, but to charge them with an "invasion," which is led by a citizen of Texas, and organized with banditti from Texas, is rather audacious.

Simultaneous with this demonstration, Mr. Wigfall, one of the Senators from Texas, made a movement in the Senate for calling out a regiment of mounted Texan volunteers, upon the plea of repressing Indian and other outrages, and attempted, yesterday, to engraft it as an amendment upon the regular West Point appropriation bill. It would involve a cost of a million and a half annually to the treasury, and this expenditure is really the inspiration of the proposed policy. We have now a large United States force on the Rio Grande, sent there expressly to meet this contingency, and the War Department has ordered most of the troops in Utah to that frontier, with the professed purpose of holding the Indians in check. Yet, in the face of this large present and prospective protection, much larger by far than the emergency requires, Congress is asked to call out a regiment of mounted men, merely that Texas may be pensioned to the tune of a million and a half a year. She has cost pretty dearly already, without incurring any new outlay, though, if an occasion really demanded it, millions would be freely voted to provide for her defence.

NEW BOOKS.

The Three Wakings. With Hymns and Songs. By the Author of "The Voice of Christian Life in Song." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1860.

Averages are quite reliable and sufficient in the discussion of generalities, but they bear rather hard on individuals. In the long run—an indefinite but very convenient measure of time—supply will probably be found to have just equalled demand, and merit be exactly balanced by praise; meanwhile, however, children's bread is given to the dogs, and children's white lips moan for three grains of corn; worthless books go through a dozen editions, and their authors are pronounced the most remarkable men of the age, while thought and feeling, fresh-coined from the soul's own mint, are "chucked" behind the front row of the upper shelf in the book-case.

We are "moved" to these remarks by reading the little book before us. Why does nobody talk about it? Has nobody read it? Has anybody read it, and failed to perceive the aroma of old wine? It has both body and sparkle, cheering to God and man. Unpretending, without preface, introduction, or author's name, it contains the true philosophy of life. You cannot help saying to yourself, "this book came from a soul glorified by suffering, noble in action." It is good, and true, and brave—sweet, and pure, and strong—full of thought succinctly expressed, of fancies gracefully woven, of religion breathed, not inculcated. The key-note of the book is found in a stanza of the opening poem:

"His poet's crown lay near him,
Fused to a golden cup;
It would carry water for parched lips,
So he thankfully took it up."

It is a book to be read, and pencilled for a second reading—to lie on the bed-room table, not in the library book-case or parlor what not—to be taken up when the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint, and it will do good like a medicine.

We should like to copy bodily the whole of Part II, "The Women of the Gospels." In Part III we have only read as far as "The Pathways of the Holy Land," for that is so beautiful, that though we often open the book to go on, we invariably linger there. Opening at random, we find "The Two Alabaster Boxes," which is perhaps as characteristic as any, and we copy it:

"When Thou, in patient ministry,
Didst pass a stranger through thy land,
Two costly gifts were offered Thee,
And both were from a woman's hand.

"To Thee who madest all things fair,
Thrice fair and precious things they bring—
Pure sculptured alabaster clear,
Perfumes for earth's anointed King.

"Man's hasty lips would both reprove,
One for the stain of too much sin,
One for the waste of too much love!
Yet both availed Thy smile to win.

"The saint who listened at Thy feet,
The sinner sinners scorned to touch,
Adoring in Thy presence meet,
Both pardoned and both loving much.

"Thus evermore to all they teach,
Man's highest style is 'much forgiven,'
And that earth's lowest yet may reach
The highest ministries of heaven.

"They teach that gifts of costliest price
From hearts sin beggared yet may pour;
And that love's costliest sacrifice
Is worth the love, and nothing more."

The Professor at the Breakfast Table; with the Story of Iris. By Oliver Wendell Holmes, author of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

This charming book is like Jeremiah's basket of figs, which contained some fruit very good and some very naughty; but, unlike Jeremiah's, the good and the bad are so inextricably (whether ingeniously or ingenuously) intermingled, that it is impossible to choose, and you are forced to take the "whole or none." It will not prove an ow'er bitter feast. The very petulance, vanity, self-conceit, and a certain infantile spite, that break out every now and then, have such an air of delightful unconsciousness, that one cannot but be amused. As Iris when she gave her drawing-book to the Professor, so, we suspect, the Professor himself does not know how fearfully he has disclosed himself. Yet many men, we fear, would lift the curtain to greater disadvantage. Many a nugget of solid gold gleams among the sand and pebbles. On many a would-be diamond the Professor flashes his lantern, and shows it to be only ising-glass. Many a little balloon collapses at the prick of his pen. Many and many a truth, wrapped in the garb of poetry, pathos, wit, or eloquence, brings strength to the brain and comfort to the heart. Much of the Professor's popularity lies, we think, in his power of precipitating the thoughts and feelings which a thousand minds hold in solution, and displaying the beautiful crystals, brilliant with the light of his own faith or fancy,

"And with a sort of welcome do we dwell
On these our unripe musings told so well."

For the National Era.

At a meeting of the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improving the condition of the African race," held 12th month 29th, the following persons were elected officers for the present year, (being the 85th since their organization in 1775.)

President.—Dillwyn Parrish.
Vice Presidents.—Joshua T. Jeanes, Benjamin Coates.
Secretaries.—Amos Hillborn, Joseph M. Truman, jun.
Treasurer.—Caleb Clothier.
Librarian.—Joseph M. Truman, jun.
Recorder of Manumissions.—Caleb Clothier.
Counsellors.—David Paul Brown, William S. Peirce, Edward Hopper, George H. Earle, H. Ryland Warriner, Thomas H. Speakman, Philadelphia; Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster; Joseph J. Lewis, Chester.
Acting Committee.—Passmore Williamson, Charles C. Jackson, Caleb Clothier, Reuben Tomlinson, Joshua T. Jeanes, Joseph M. Truman, jun., Dillwyn Parrish.
Board of Education.—Benjamin Coates, Dillwyn Parrish, Joshua T. Jeanes, P. E. Chase, J. M. Truman, jun., T. E. Chapman, Lewis Thompson, Samuel S. Ash, Edward N. Hallowell, Reuben Tomlinson, Amos Hillborn, William W. Justice, Lukens Webster.
Committee on Property.—C. Clothier, J. M. Truman, jun., T. E. Chapman.

SHOCKING CASUALTY.—It is seldom that we are called upon to chronicle a more lamentable or heart-rending occurrence than the following: Saturday afternoon, two sons of Rev. J. S. Weize, at Lithopolis, Fairfield county, were playing in a room of their father's house, when one of them, eleven years old, took up a gun which was standing in the corner, and playfully remarked to his brother, six years old, that he would shoot him, and, levelling the gun, fired away, blowing the whole half of the little fellow's head off, killing him instantly. The older brother did not dream of there being a load in the gun, only raising and levelling it in sport; but it was heavily charged with shot, and the aim was too true. Mrs. Weize was nearly frantic with her great grief, and the surviving brother will not be consoled. The gun was kept loaded to shoot pigeons, as they flew over the village in large numbers.—*Ohio State Journal, 27th.*

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS.—*Greensburg, March 2.*—The Hon. Henry D. Foster, Democratic nominee for Governor, resides here, where he is personally very popular. His unexpected nomination created much enthusiasm in the town, and last night many houses were illuminated, bonfires kindled, and a ratification meeting held, at which Mr. Foster appeared and accepted the nomination. Subsequently, a procession, headed by a band of music, marched to the residence of Mr. F., and serenaded him.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

———, *February*, 1860.

To the Editor of the National Era:

It was certainly something altogether unexpected to see the British nation—looked upon generally as a brave, if not warlike people—on a sudden displaying the most abject fear of an imagined French invasion, and lavishing millions of dollars in defensive preparations against a supposed intended aggression of the French Emperor, who has shown—as Mr. Bright himself has lately, at a public meeting, acknowledged—no hostility at all against England, but, on the contrary, proved himself a most faithful ally of the English Queen. But, ridiculous as the conduct of the British nation has been in this matter, it is but the natural consequence of the consciousness which the English people must feel of having wished to violate the alliance with France, and assist Austria, if the Emperor Napoleon, during the last summer, had pursued his victorious career into the heart of the Austrian hereditary dominions. The people of Great Britain have but illustrated the correctness of the old saying, "A bad conscience changes even courageous men into cowards." But the chivalry of Virginia has of late, by its pusillanimous conduct, yet more clearly proved the truth of this proverb. The world was not many weeks ago startled by the news—*incredibile dictu!*—that a squad of an army, numbering in all seventeen men, had boldly invaded the great State of Virginia, the birthplace of so many illustrious heroes, and succeeded in seizing upon an armory of the United States, and in keeping for two days two thousand brave Virginians in duress. A few days later, Europe was surprised by the yet more astonishing news that the inhabitants of Virginia had been called upon by the heroic Governor of their State to rise in arms, in order to meet the invasion which the supposed Northern would-be deliverers of the captured Brown and his fellow-prisoners were reported by the terrified slaveholders to meditate. The bad conscience of the shameless dealers in human flesh made the native State of the venerable Washington and the immortal Jefferson, with all the whole South at its heels, to tremble with fear before imagined terrors. Northern courage has hitherto been at a discount in the slave States, but "it ought," as it has been properly remarked, "hereafter to rise in value, at least in Virginia;" and sure it is, that the slaveholders have made themselves in the eyes of Europe ridiculous, while the press of the South, by its inhuman cries for the blood of the misguided participators in the attempt at delivering from bondage the enslaved colored race in the Southern States, has provoked the disgust and contempt of every generous heart in the whole civilized world.

We may feel constrained to condemn the enterprise of old Brown and his followers, but we cannot therefore concede that their criminality was of that atrocious nature which absolutely required the punishment of death. We had, besides, expected an account of the noble impulses which seem to have made themselves felt within the breast of the late Governor of Virginia, that he would have done all in his power to save the high-minded though erring chieftain of the unlawful enterprise, and consequently also his companions, from the gallows. But the aim of Mr. Wise's ambition is the Chief Magistracy of the great Republic; and hence he dared not to display the moral courage of defying the rage of the powerful slave oligarchy, upon which, in great part, depends the realization of his hope. Consequently, by subduing his better feelings, he has caused the severe sentence, which had been passed upon the would-be deliverers of the negro slaves, to be promptly executed; thus neglecting to acquire the esteem and admiration of the best portion of mankind, and in fact proving himself unworthy of the high dignity which constitutes the object of his most ardent wishes; because no man who has shown himself deficient in moral courage, or negligent in displaying it at proper occasions, ought to be deemed worthy of a place which requires of its incumbent an almost constant display of that high quality of mind.

The scandalous attempts of Southern papers at implicating Messrs. Chase, Seward, Hale, and other eminent men of the Republican party, in the Harper's Ferry affair, have served only to dishonor the Southern press, to illustrate the blamable course which it is pursuing with regard to the slavery question, and to make it the more odious in the eyes of liberal-minded and liberty-loving Europeans, while the imputations which Mr. Cobb and other members of the present Administration have, without being supported by any evidence at all, brought forth against distinguished Republicans, have, on this side of the Atlantic, created the rather general impression that the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan consists in great part of very unscrupulous politicians, equalling, if not surpassing, in moral deformity, the very worst of their predecessors.

The frequent threats of dissolving the Union, in the case of Mr. Chase, or any other man belonging to the Republican party, being elected President of the United States, which have been uttered by several Democratic members of Congress, as well as by many leading journals of the South, have not failed to make many Europeans incline to believe that the great Northern Republic will soon become the theatre of an internal war, the ultimate result of which would be the establishment of two or more monarchies, instead of the now existing Republic. But, though no sagacious statesman or consummate historian will undertake to deny the impossibility of so deplorable an event in the course of time, we may, however, feel pretty well assured that the Southern States will evince a great deal more prudence than to attempt at defying a decree of the majority of the American people, or to expose themselves to the horrors which a civil war would necessarily devolve upon themselves especially, and that the Republican sentiments will, whatever may take place, for many centuries remain dominant in the breasts of the American people.

It might be questionable whether the Southern States have the right or not to secede from the Union; but however this may be, it is to be hoped, for the sake of humanity, that, if they take such a resolution, they may, without any interference from the side of the other States, be allowed to act in that respect as they themselves might choose; because it would certainly be contrary to the principles of popular sovereignty to compel them by force to remain members of an Union odious in their eyes, and which ought to rest upon the free choice of all its constituent parts; besides, there can be no reasonable doubt but that they would soon repent of a step, of the folly of which a short experience would necessarily convince them.

The honorable stand which Mr. Buchanan has in his message taken against the opening of the foreign slave trade is no doubt chiefly attributable to the venerable Secretary of State, Gen. Cass, who is in fact the only member of the present American Administration who is looked upon with esteem by intelligent Europeans.

Europe is, at least for the present, relieved of its fears of a war between France and England. The sagacious Emperor of France has, by a commercial treaty with England, by which he has abandoned the strictly protective or rather prohibitory system in trade which has hitherto prevailed in France, afforded his personal friend, the Premier of Great Britain, a great support against the Tory party, and consequently prevented the reins of Government in England from falling, for some time to come, into the hands of the avowed enemies of France.

The Emperor Napoleon has unquestionably committed some blamable acts, but he has, on the other hand, conferred upon France and all Europe inestimable benefits; and it would appear as if he intends to justify all the hopes which a great portion of the liberal party on this continent have entertained of him since the time that he began to evince a disposition not to favor the ambitious plans of Austria and Russia. Certain it is, that it is his firm resolution not to allow any foreign interference in the internal affairs of any one of the European States; but, on the contrary, to enforce the principle that every nation has the right to manage its own affairs, and to choose whatever form of government it deems most preferable. He is looked upon by the most of the thorough European aristocrats as an embodiment of popular sovereignty, and is, consequently, very odious in their eyes. Neither is the despotic rule which he wields of that kind which is pleasing to the other despots in Europe. Consequently, he is equally much hated as feared by them. It seems, also, very doubtful whether he has any sincere friends among the constitutional princes. But he is, on account of his superlative talents, admired by the majority of the European people, and fondly loved by the great mass of the French nation, and by the French army, which, besides, honors and lauds him to the skies as a great general.

The stand which the Emperor of France has taken against the despotic principles cherished by the Papal Government, and his friendly advices to the Pope to concede to his revolted subjects the right to establish a new Government of their own, or to choose the King of Sardinia for their ruler, have naturally had the effect to make him very popular among the friends of freedom, while increasing in immense degree his moral influence over all Europe.

The intrigues of some of the German princes, and of the nobility of the Duchies of Holstein and Slesvig, in order to kindle a new war against Denmark, on purpose to renew the attempt of depriving the Danish King of these principalities and that of Lauenburg, are still going on. But the rulers of Germany are at present too much divided in political views, to unite in support of such an enterprise. Besides, the more sagacious among them cannot fail to perceive that they would soon find themselves opposed by the young King of Sweden and Norway, who is a very energetic and courageous prince, and by France and England. They cannot, therefore, flatter themselves with the hope of meeting with success, even if they were inclined to support the plan in question. But those principalities might, however, at no very distant day, be separated from Denmark, because it is very likely that, in the course of some time, a union will be formed between Denmark and the now-united Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, on the condition that no German elements are allowed to enter in the union, and consequently that Denmark rids herself of the German principalities, which are now so anxious to be separated from her, but which probably will soon repent of having ever wished to abandon themselves to the embraces of the liberty-hating princes of the German Confederation.

The vacillating policy of the Emperor of Austria, and the unwillingness which he evinces to listen to the just claims of the Magyars and other nationalities subject to his sway, are very likely to bring forth revolutionary movements, of a very dangerous nature, within his dominions.

The Government of Prussia is conducted with much ability by the Prince Regent, who, whatsoever his inmost thoughts may be, understands, however, to play the part of a sincere friend of constitutional freedom. His Cabinet is composed undoubtedly of able men, anxious to promote the best interests of their native country, to extend the influence of the Prussian Government throughout all the German States, by means of the Liberal party, which they, for that reason, flatter and support.

The Russian autocrat is chiefly engaged in developing the immense material resources of his vast empire, in promoting the emancipation of the serfs from bondage, and in putting the fleet and army in such a state that in case of necessity they may be able, with reasonable hope of success, to cope with the formidable warlike armaments of France, and advance the claims for supremacy over Asia which Russia unquestionably will set forth at some future, perhaps not very distant, day.

The young King of Sweden and Norway is displaying a high degree of activity, and many eminent qualities as a ruler, while at the same time evincing the greatest regard for the constitutional liberties of his subjects. He joins in his person the mild disposition and philanthropic ideas of his noble father, with the vigorous mind and warlike capacities of his famous grandfather—enjoying a great degree of popularity, not only in Sweden and Norway, but also in Denmark. Among all the European princes, he is second to none, except the Emperor of France, in mental endowments, while surpassing all in outward personal attractions.

PUBLICOLA.

EUROPE, *February* 7, 1860.

ARRIVAL OF THE OVERLAND CALIFORNIA MAIL.—*Malloy's Station, March* 3.—The overland California mail, with advices to the 7th, has been received.

The Pacific Railroad Convention had been in session at Sacramento since the 6th. It is composed of seventy members, representing California, Oregon, and Washington Territory. The object is to concentrate public opinion on the subject.

It was resolved to send memorials to Congress in the matter, and legislative action on the part of California and Oregon had been recommended.

A resolution was unanimously adopted, urging the California Legislature to offer a bonus of $6,000 to any company that shall first complete the overland telegraph line to the Atlantic States, and $4,000 to the company completing a second line within eighteen months. The Convention was also discussing the propriety of recommending the Legislature to pass a law creating a State debt of $1,800,000 for building the Pacific railroad to the eastern boundary of the State, but the proposition would probably be rejected, and an appropriation recommended sufficient to thoroughly explore all the mountain passes.

Petitions in favor of a Sunday law continue to be sent to the Legislature, numerously signed; also asking the passage of an act to protect emigrants, by establishing a State agent at New York to detect bogus ticket swindlers.

Vigorous efforts were being made in the Legislature to pass resolutions asking Congress to dissolve the injunction against the New Almaden quicksilver mines.

FROM HAVANA—VESSELS FITTED OUT AGAINST VERA CRUZ BY SANTA ANNA.—*New Orleans, March* 5.—Dates from Havana to the 1st inst. have been received. The steamer Baltimore, from Baltimore, had arrived.

Sugar was steady at 9½ rials. The weather was still unfavorable for the new crop. Stock estimated at 90,000 boxes, against 140,000 boxes last year. The exports of the week amount to 10,000 boxes.

The steamers General Miramon and Marquez, of Havana, had sailed for Vera Cruz on the 27th, under the Mexican flag. It was reported that both had been purchased by Santa Anna to aid Miramon in the siege of Vera Cruz.

LATER FROM THE HUNGARIAN.—*Montreal, March* 3.—The following dispatch was received from the Hungarian's agent here last evening:

"*Barrington, March* 1.—I have returned from Baccaro Lighthouse. I went over twelve miles of the coast. No more bodies have been found. Three trunks have been found—one belonging to Margaret Robertson, Montreal; one to Robert Martin, Toronto; and one to W. R. Crocker, Norwich, Connecticut. I found a quantity of goods at Baccaro and Port Latour, but not a package whole. I also found one boat undamaged. From the appearance of the goods, I don't think it advisable to keep the schooner here longer. Lloyd's agent advises the goods to be sold here, they being so badly damaged. The goods are spread over a space of about seventy miles, and being in so many hands, there will be great difficulty in collecting them. The surveyors have not yet given in their report.

A. CRAWFORD."

TERRIBLE ACCIDENT AT CINCINNATI.—*Cincinnati, March* 2.—The accident at St. Xavier's (Catholic) Church, in this city, the walls of which fell yesterday, burying a number of laborers in the ruins, was caused by an attempt to overthrow a wall twenty feet high, one foot thick, and thirty feet long, by undermining. The rain, it appears, affected the foundation, and as soon as it was a little loosened, it unexpectedly fell in. Fifteen men were at work at the time in the range of the falling wall. Only one succeeded in escaping. Thirteen were crushed to death, and the fourteenth man mortally wounded. All were laborers, and have large families.

The Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate returned to this city on Monday from Boston, accompanied by Thaddeus Hyatt and Judge Arny. Mr. Hyatt came, it is said, voluntarily to Washington, and will appear before the Senate during this week, and submit for their consideration an argument of his counsel to show that the resolution of that body requiring witnesses to attend the summons of the investigating committee is unconstitutional.

The railroad to connect Atchison, Kansas, with St. Joseph, Mo., the terminus of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, has been completed, and will be opened for travel March 1st.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, First Session.

Wednesday, February 29, 1860.

SENATE.

Mr. Gwin, from the Committee on Finance, reported back the House bill making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the year ending the 30th of June, 1861, without amendment, and asked its immediate consideration. No objection being made, it was read a third time and passed.

Mr. G., from the same committee, to whom was referred the House bill making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the year ending the 30th of June, 1861, reported it back, and recommended its passage.

Mr. Wilson presented a memorial of underwriters and others, of Boston, Mass., praying the establishment of a mail steamship line between Charleston, S. C., and Havana.

On motion by Mr. Mason, a resolution was adopted, requesting the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate—if not, in his opinion, incompatible with the public interest—any communication he may have received from the Governor of the State of Texas, and documents accompanying it, concerning alleged hostilities now existing on the Rio Grande, between the citizens or military authorities of Mexico and that State, respectively.

On motion by Mr. Seward, the special order was postponed until to-morrow, and he proceeded to address the Senate at great length in support of his bill for the immediate admission of the State of Kansas into the Union, and in defence of the principles of the Republican party.

Mr. Douglas replied briefly to some of Mr. Seward's remarks respecting the Nebraska bill, and denounced the Republican party with much severity, as responsible for all the slavery agitation.

Mr. Davis replied to Mr. Seward, repelling the idea that the South has less devotion to the Union than the North.

Messrs. Trumbull and Douglas continued the discussion until after six o'clock, when the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. Parrott presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Kansas, asking admission into the Union under the Wyandotte Constitution. Referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Ruffin called up his motion, made on yesterday, to amend the Journal, his name having not been recorded on the last vote for Printer. How this happened, he was at a loss to know. During the six years he had been a member of the House, he had never missed a vote, except when absent from the city, or confined to his bed by sickness. He was quite certain he voted for Mr. Glossbrenner, and he proceeded minutely to state all the circumstances at the time.

Mr. Hindman confirmed Mr. Ruffin's statement, saying that the gentleman's peculiar voice and manner of answering to his name attracted his attention. Mr. Ruffin had inquired whether his name was recorded, and the Clerk said it was. Of these facts Mr. Hindman was perfectly confident.

Mr. Florence's memory was also clear and distinct on the subject. He did not hear Mr. Ruffin respond to his name, but he heard him ask whether his name was recorded, and for whom; the Clerk seemed to put his finger on the tally, and gave an affirmative nod to the Speaker, who responded that Mr. Ruffin's name was recorded.

Mr. John Cochrane, Mr. Winslow, and Mr. Stout, severally confirmed the foregoing statements.

Mr. Sherman said he supposed from what had been said that everybody was satisfied that Mr. Ruffin voted, and therefore his name ought to appear on the journal, whatever may be the consequences.

The Speaker declared that Mr. Ford's election as Printer was a nullity, and the House again proceeded to vote for a Printer.

Mr. Stanton remarked, that if Mr. Ruffin said absolutely he voted for Mr. Glossbrenner, that was enough.

Mr. Grow said it was the duty of every member to vote when his name was called, and alluded to the loose practice which has grown up, of gentlemen not always answering to their names as they are called in order.

Mr. Florence said the gentleman need not address his remarks to the Democratic side. The changes on that occasion were on the Republican side.

Mr. Grow meant his remarks to apply to both sides.

Mr. Corwin, with a view of disposing of this subject in the shortest possible time, proposed a resolution, declaring Mr. Ford the Printer, notwithstanding the informality.

Mr. Ruffin would not agree to the introduction of the resolution. He claimed the right to have his name recorded.

This was done. The Speaker then declared that there had been no legal election.

The House subsequently proceeded to vote for a Printer, with the following result:

Whole number of votes, 180; necessary to a choice, 91; of which Mr. Ford received 87; Mr. Glossbrenner, 78; Mr. Seaton, 9; Mr. Winton, 2; Mr. Ball, 3; Mr. W. F. Ritchie, 1.

On motion of Mr. Sherman, the further consideration of the subject was postponed till to-morrow at two o'clock.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, when

Mr. Reagan addressed the Committee on the slavery question, maintaining that the Constitution recognises slavery, and therefore neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can abolish it, or have any control over it, in the Territories belonging in common to the people of the country.

Mr. Grow made a speech in support of the other side of the same question.

Mr. Edgerton, of Ohio, made a speech on the homestead bill.

Mr. Junkin, of Pennsylvania, spoke in favor of protection for American industry, and in condemnation of the free-trade policy of the Democratic party.

The Committee then rose, and, at ten minutes past five o'clock, the House adjourned.

Thursday, March 1, 1860.

SENATE.

Mr. Davis withdrew the series of resolutions on territorial rights, which he had formerly submitted, and presented the modified series as agreed upon by the Democratic caucus; which were ordered to be printed. The bill extending the provisions of the swamp-land act to Oregon and Minnesota was passed.

On motion by Mr. Green, the Senate resumed the consideration of the Military Academy appropriation bill.

Mr. Wigfall moved to amend the bill by adding an appropriation of $1,130,318.06 for the support and maintenance of a regiment of mounted volunteers to defend the frontiers of Texas, as authorized by the act of April 7, 1858. Messrs. Mason, Davis, Wigfall, Hemphill, Douglas and others, advocated the amendment, and Messrs. Fessenden, Crittenden, Hale, and others, opposed it.

The hour having arrived for the consideration of the special order, Mr. Brown having the floor on his bill to punish offences against slave property in Kansas, that gentleman stated that, in consequence of ill health, he did not wish to speak to-day, and the bill was postponed until Tuesday next.

The Military Academy bill was resumed. Mr. Trumbull moved to refer the bill and amendment to the Committee on Military Affairs; which was not agreed to—yeas 23, nays 31.

Mr. Doolittle moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject until Wednesday of next week; which was not agreed to.

Subsequently, on motion by Mr. Saulsbury, the bill and amendment were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A motion to adjourn until Monday next was defeated.

The bill to authorize the sale of public arms to the several States and Territories was resumed, and debated by Messrs. Hale, Davis, Simmons, Mason, Pugh, and others, until a late hour.

The homestead bill was made a special order for Wednesday next. Adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. Adrain rose to a question of privilege. He desired to reply to the censures of the committee appointed to make arrangements for the recent inauguration of the statue of Washington.

Messrs. Farnsworth, Lovejoy, Crawford, and others, objected.

Mr. Adrain thought it was most unjust to the character of the committee and of this House, that some expression was not permitted to be made, when censure had been cast by Mr. Carter's proposed resolution.

Mr. Carter desired to answer the reflections cast upon him in connection with the resolution.

Mr. Barksdale called him to order.

The Speaker said that Mr. Carter's resolution was not in possession of the House, objection having heretofore been made to its reception.

Mr. Phelps, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported back, with an amendment, the bill establishing a navy office at St. Louis.

On motion of Mr. Washburn, of Maine, a resolution was adopted, instructing the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the expediency of abolishing a portion of the land offices, or reducing the expenses connected with that branch of the public business.

Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, from the Committee on Commerce, reported a bill amendatory of the act providing for the safety of passengers on boats propelled in whole or in part by steam.

A brief running debate took place, in which the propriety of placing the bill in a position to be reached with a view to its passage was generally admitted. It was finally postponed for three weeks.

The House adopted a resolution authorizing eleven of the standing committees of the House each to employ a clerk, at $4 a day.

Mr. John Cochrane, from the Committee on Commerce, reported a bill to protect female emigrants on board of passenger ships—making their vile abuse by captains and others a misdemeanor, to be punished with fine or imprisonment. [The memorial of the Commissioners of Emigration, also signed by the Mayors of New York and Brooklyn, shows a deplorable condition of morals, and loudly demands a remedy similar to that which is now proposed.]

Definite action was prevented by the expiration of the morning hour.

The House went into Committee on the bill to carry into effect the treaties with the Indians of Washington and Oregon, ratified in March last.

The bill being read through—

Mr. Cobb made a few remarks with reference to the policy of the Republican party, and said he would not vote another dollar for carrying the treaty stipulations into effect until he was satisfied the South were to have equal rights in the Territories.

The Committee rose, without action on the bill, and proceeded to the consideration of the special order—namely, the election of a Printer. Subsequently, there was a postponement till to-morrow.

Mr. Ashmore, of South Carolina, in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, made a speech on the slavery question.

The Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Friday, March 2, 1860.

SENATE.

The Chair laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, in answer to a resolution calling for information as to the condition of the work of marking the boundary between the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Bayard, from the Judiciary Committee, reported back the bill concerning courts of the United States in the district of Arkansas, with an amendment. He also reported adversely on the bill to provide for the construction of a court-house at Apalachicola, Florida.

This being private bill day, the calendar was taken up, and about twenty bills were considered and passed. Among them, for the relief of Richard W. Meade; for the relief of David D. Porter; for the relief of Simon De Visser and Jose Villambia, of New Orleans; for the relief of Tench Tilghman.

A long debate ensued on the propriety of giving pensions to the widows of Gen. Persifer Smith, Gen. Macomb, and Gen. Riley. Without deciding the question, the Senate, after a brief Executive session, adjourned till Monday next.

HOUSE.

Mr. Adrain offered a proposition to be read, simply for the information of the House. It was in the character of a reply to a resolution heretofore presented by Mr. Carter, which latter charged the committee to make arrangements for the inauguration of the equestrian statue of Washington, and the President and heads of Departments, with a want of attention and hospitality to the New York seventh regiment. This allegation Mr. Adrain's preamble pronounced untrue.

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois, reminded Mr. Adrain that Mr. Carter was not here, being called hence by sickness in his family.

Mr. Adrain said he did not intend to discuss the subject.

Mr. Kellogg. But your paper reflects upon him.

Mr. Adrain. When Mr. Carter offered his resolution, I, a member of the committee, was not here.

Mr. Clark proceeded to read a letter from Col. Hickey, vindicating the Washington military from all censure, and showing that the seventh regiment were invited within the circle to witness the inauguration; that quarters at the best hotels were provided free of expense to them; that the chairman of the committee [Mr. Keitt] made a patriotic speech to them at the Columbian Armory, and that Col. Lefferts had expressed his regret at the entirely unjust censure which has been cast on the committee.

Mr. Adrain's preamble concluded with a resolution that the one presented by Mr. Carter was an unjustifiable attack on a committee of the House, as well as on the President and heads of the several Departments, and was brought forward for the purpose of making a little political capital for himself.

The matter here ended.

The House passed the bill making an appropriation to carry into effect the treaty stipulations with the Indians in Washington and Oregon Territories.

After the transaction of business of no especial public importance, the House proceeded to the execution of the special order, viz: the election of a Printer, with the following result:

Whole number of votes, 187; necessary to a choice, 94; Mr. Ford, of Ohio, received 96; Mr. Glossbrenner, 73; Mr. Seaton, 9; Mr. Ball, 3; scattering, 6.

Mr. Ford, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected.

It was resolved that, when the House adjourn, it be to Monday next. Mr. Sherman opposed this, saying that, if they intended to adjourn by the first of June, they should not waste time.

Mr. Colfax reported, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, a bill authorizing publishers to print on their papers the date when the subscription expires.

A number of bills of a private character were reported. The House adjourned till Monday.

Monday, March 5, 1860.

SENATE.

Mr. Hann presented the credentials of his successor, Hon. Milton S. Latham, elected Senator by the Legislature of California, for the unexpired term of Hon. David C. Broderick, deceased; which were read, and Mr. Latham appeared, was qualified, and took his seat.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill to create an additional land district in Washington Territory, reported it back, with amendments in the nature of a substitute; and the substitute having been adopted, it was read a third time and passed.

Mr. Mallory moved that the bill declaratory of the acts for carrying into effect the ninth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain be taken up, for the purpose of making it the special order for Monday, the 19th instant.

Mr. Gwin objected, as he wanted the Senate to proceed with the bills on the calendar in their order. The first bill on the calendar (the Pacific railroad bill) was the most important measure before the Senate, and he had been trying in vain for the last two months to get that bill taken up.

The motion of Mr. Mallory was agreed to—yeas 32, nays 20.

Mr. Benjamin, from the Committee on Private Land Claims, reported a bill to confirm certain land claims in the Florida parishes of Louisiana to the city of New Orleans; which was read, and passed to a second reading.

On motion of Mr. Benjamin, a resolution was adopted, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire into the expediency of further legislation in relation to the collection of debts due the United States, and the sale of lands taken up by the United States for the payment of debt, and that it report by bill or otherwise.

The bill to amend the act establishing the Court of Claims was taken up, and discussed elaborately by Messrs. Bayard, Hale, Benjamin, Toombs, and others, until the hour of adjournment. It proposes to enlarge the jurisdiction of that tribunal, and make its decisions final in certain cases.

HOUSE.

The Speaker laid before the House testimony in the contested election cases from the third and fourth Congressional districts of Maryland; which was referred to the Committee of Elections.

The House referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia the Senate bill authorizing the corporation of Washington to negotiate a loan of $200,000 for the purpose of building a market house.

Mr. Millson, on the assembling of the House, said that he was unwilling that the House should even seem to be indifferent to a usage coeval with our Government, and dignified by so many historical recollections. He therefore offered a resolution providing for the election of a Chaplain to-morrow, to officiate alternately with the Chaplain already elected by the Senate.

Mr. Houston objected, contending that the resolution was not a question of privilege, there being no law for the election of a Chaplain.

Mr. Millson replied, saying that there should be a daily invocation of Divine assistance and protection, and it should not be in the power of any one man, by a solitary objection, to defeat all conventional decencies, and obstruct the rules of the House.

Mr. Houston regarded Mr. Millson's remarks as extraordinary, and replied to them.

Mr. Clemens showed that there is a law of Congress fixing the salary of the Chaplain at $750 per annum; hence there is authority to elect one.

Mr. John Cochrane said he had an essay to deliver on the subject.

The Speaker, following precedents, decided that the resolution was a question of privilege.

Several gentlemen now raised points of order, and desired to extend an invitation to all ministers to officiate alternately.

Mr. Houston appealed from the Speaker's decision, which appeal was, on motion of Mr. Millson, tabled.

Much confusion prevailed throughout these proceedings, half a dozen gentlemen at times speaking together.

Mr. Barksdale moved to table the whole subject.

Finally, Mr. Millson's resolution to elect a Chaplain was adopted.

There was other business of no public importance transacted.

Mr. Sherman moved that the House proceed to the business on the Speaker's table, with a view of reaching the bill heretofore perfected, of so amending the mileage allowance of members of Congress as to give twenty instead of forty cents a mile, the distance to be computed by a straight line.

Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, for the purpose of defeating action on that bill, moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. The question was decided in the negative—yeas 61, nays 106.

Mr. Washburne then asked leave to introduce a joint resolution for the improvement of the harbor of Chicago.

Mr. Stanton said, if such motions were to be entertained, his colleague [Mr. Sherman] might abandon his hope of reaching the mileage bill.

Mr. Washburne's motion was disagreed to—yeas 37, nays 123.

Mr. Sherman said he would to-morrow renew his motion. He then asked leave to offer a resolution to discharge the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union from the further consideration of the subject of a Pacific railroad, and that it be referred to a select committee of fifteen members.

Mr. Curry objected to the introduction of the resolution; whereupon,

Mr. Sherman moved a suspension of the rules, which was agreed to—yeas 125, nays 43.

The resolution was then agreed to.

Mr. Barksdale asked leave to offer a resolution providing, the Senate concurring, for an adjournment of Congress *sine die* on Monday, the 4th of June.

Objection having been made, he moved a suspension of the rules, which was not agreed to.

Mr. Covode offered a resolution for the appointment of a select committee of five members to inquire whether the President or any other officers of the Government has entered into any combination to prevent the execution of the laws, or whether any effort has been made by them to influence the action of Congress in relation to any laws as to the States or Territories; and also to inquire whether any money has been expended in Pennsylvania, under Government officers, to influence elections; also to inquire whether there has been any corruption in any of the navy yards, &c.

The rules were suspended—yeas 117, nays 45.

Some of the Democrats objected that the resolution was vague, and that the charges should be specific. It was, however, adopted.

Mr. Reagan offered a joint resolution placing $5,000,000 at the disposal of the President, to suppress hostilities on the Rio Grande. Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The House then adjourned.

CONGRESS—TUESDAY.

In the Senate, Thaddeus Hyatt, of Boston, was brought to the bar by the Sergeant-at-arms, and was put in charge of the Investigating Committee.

After the morning business, Mr. Brown, of Miss., obtained the floor, and addressed the Senate on the subject of Popular Sovereignty, and the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories.

In the House, the bill for the protection of females on board emigrant vessels was passed.

A bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce, to revise the revenue laws.

The Rev. Mr. Stockton, of Philadelphia, was elected Chaplain of the House.

The bill presented by Mr. Sherman, for the reduction of mileage from 40 to 20 cents per mile, was passed by a large majority.

Mr. Hoard, of New York, offered a resolution, proposing an investigation of a charge of bribery and corruption against the Administration, in regard to the election of Speaker. The resolution was adopted.

THE REPUBLICANS OF OHIO.—The Republican Convention of Ohio met at Columbus on Thursday last, and elected as delegates at large to the Chicago Convention, D. K. Carter, Dr. C. Broadbeck, V. B. Horton, and Thomas Spooner; and as alternates, Jacob Muller German, Abner Kellogg, S. M. Smith, and E. B. Taylor. The Convention passed but one resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That the Republicans of Ohio, while they will give their united and earnest support to the nominee of the Chicago Convention, indicate as their first choice, and recommend to said Convention, the name of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio."

This resolution was passed—ayes 380, noes 72.

An official report shows that the old Capitol building is sufficiently strong to bear, without any damage whatever, the iron dome, which will weigh thirty-seven hundred tons, more than half of which is erected. The Senate had instituted an inquiry, fearing that the walls would not bear so much pressure. The cost of the dome, as now estimated, will be $904,000, including the mammoth bronze statue of the "Genius of Liberty," with which it is to be surmounted.

GOING TO TEXAS AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.—Florida planters, in large numbers, accompanied by their slaves, are said to be moving westward to the Mississippi Valley and Texas, in search of more fertile lands. The New Orleans *Crescent* thinks the loss of population will rather benefit Florida than prove detrimental, as the places of those rich planters will be supplied by small farmers and working men. The same remark will apply to many other slave States.

The National Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union party have fixed the 9th of May for holding the nominating Convention at Baltimore.

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Vol. XIV. January, 1860.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

The State of the Country.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 29, 1860.

Mr. President, the admission of Kansas into the Union, without further delay, seems to me equally necessary, just, and wise. In recorded debates, I have already anticipated the arguments for this conclusion.

In coming forward among the political astrologers, it shall be an error of judgment, and not of disposition, if my interpretation of the feverish dreams which are disturbing the country shall tend to foment, rather than to allay, the national excitement. I shall say nothing unnecessarily of persons, because, in our system, the public welfare and happiness depend chiefly on institutions, and very little on men. I shall allude but briefly to incidental topics, because they are ephemeral, and because, even in the midst of appeals to passion and prejudice, it is always safe to submit solid truth to the deliberate consideration of an honest and enlightened people.

It will be an overflowing source of shame, as well as of sorrow, if we, thirty millions—Europeans by extraction, Americans by birth or discipline, and Christians in faith, and meaning to be such in practice—cannot so combine prudence with humanity, in our conduct concerning the one disturbing subject of slavery, as not only to preserve our unequalled institutions of freedom, but also to enjoy their benefits with contentment and harmony.

Wherever a guiltless slave exists, be he Caucasian, American, Malay, or African, he is the subject of two distinct and opposite ideas—one that he is wrongly, the other that he is rightly, a slave. The balance of numbers on either side, however great, never completely extinguishes this difference of opinion, for there are always some defenders of slavery outside, even if there are none inside, of a free State, while also there are always outside, if there are not inside, of every slave State, many who assert, with Milton, that "no man who knows aught can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey." It often, perhaps generally, happens, however, that in considering the subject of slavery, society seems to overlook the natural right or personal interest of the slave himself, and to act exclusively for the welfare of the citizen. But this fact does not materially affect ultimate results, for the elementary question of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of slavery inheres in every form that discussion concerning it assumes. What is just to one class of men can never be injurious to any other; and what is unjust to any condition of persons in a State, is necessarily injurious, in some degree, to the whole community. An economical question early arises out of the subject of slavery—labor, either of freemen or of slaves, is the cardinal necessity of society. Some States choose the one kind, some the other. Hence two municipal systems, widely different, arise. The slave State strikes down and affects to extinguish the personality of the laborer, not only as a member of the political body, but also as a parent, husband, child, neighbor, or friend. He thus becomes, in a political view, merely property, without moral capacity, and without domestic, moral, and social relations, duties, rights, and remedies—a chattel, an object of bargain, sale, gift, inheritance, or theft. His earnings are compensated and his wrongs atoned, not to himself, but to his owner. The State protects not the slave as a man, but the capital of another man, which he represents. On the other hand, the State which rejects slavery encourages and animates and invigorates the laborer by maintaining and developing his natural personality in all the rights and faculties of manhood, and generally with the privileges of citizenship. In the one case, capital invested in slaves becomes a great political force; while in the other, labor, thus elevated and enfranchised, becomes the dominating political power. It thus happens that we may, for convenience sake, and not inaccurately, call slave States capital States, and free States labor States.

So soon as a State feels the impulses of commerce, or enterprise, or ambition, its citizens begin to study the effects of these systems of capital and labor respectively on its intelligence, its virtue, its tranquillity, its integrity or unity, its defence, its prosperity, its liberty, its happiness, its aggrandizement, and its fame. In other words, the great question arises, whether slavery is a moral, social, and political good, or a moral, social, and political evil. This is the slavery question at home. But there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man throughout the world. Nations examine freely the political systems of each other, and of all preceding times, and accordingly as they approve or disapprove of the two systems of capital and labor respectively, they sanction and prosecute, or condemn and prohibit, commerce in men. Thus, in one way or in another, the slavery question, which so many among us, who are more willing to rule than patient in studying the condition of society, think is a merely accidental or unnecessary question, that might and ought to be settled and dismissed at once, is, on the contrary, a world-wide and enduring subject of political consideration and civil administration. Men, states, and nations, entertain it, not voluntarily, but because the progress of society continually brings it into their way. They divide upon it, not perversely, but because, owing to differences of constitution, condition, or circumstances, they cannot agree.

The fathers of the Republic encountered it. They even adjusted it so that it might have given us much less than our present disquiet, had not circumstances afterwards occurred which they, wise as they were, had not clearly foreseen. Although they had inherited, yet they generally condemned, the practice of slavery, and hoped for its discontinuance. They expressed this when they asserted in the Declaration of Independence, as a fundamental principle of American society, that all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Each State, however, reserved to itself exclusive political power over the subject of slavery within its own borders. Nevertheless, it unavoidably presented itself in their consultations on a bond of Federal Union. The new Government was to be a representative one. Slaves were capital in some States, in others capital had no investments in labor. Should those slaves be represented as capital or as persons, taxed as capital or as persons, or should they not be represented or taxed at all? The fathers disagreed, debated long, and compromised at last. Each State, they determined, shall have two Senators in Congress. Three-fifths of the slaves shall be elsewhere represented and be taxed as persons. What should be done if the slave should escape into a labor State? Should that State confess him to be a chattel, and restore him as such, or might it regard him as a person, and harbor and protect him as a man? They compromised again, and decided that no person held to labor or service in one State by the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, by any law or regulation of that State, be discharged from such labor or service, but shall be delivered up on claim to the person to whom such labor or service shall be due.

Free laborers would immigrate, and slaves might be imported into the States. The fathers agreed that Congress may establish uniform laws of naturalization, and it might prohibit the importation of persons after 1808. Communities in the Southwest, detached from the Southern States, were growing up in the practice of slavery, to be capital States. New States would soon grow up in the Northwest, while as yet capital stood aloof, and labor had not lifted the axe to begin there its endless but beneficent task. The fathers authorized Congress to make all needful rules and regulations concerning the management and disposition of the public lands, and to admit new States. So the Constitution, while it does not disturb or affect the system of capital in slaves, existing in any State under its own laws, does, at the same time, recognise every human being, when within any exclusive sphere of Federal jurisdiction, not as capital, but as a person.

What was the action of the fathers in Congress? They admitted the new States of the Southwest as capital States, because it was practically impossible to do otherwise, and by the ordinance of 1787, confirmed in 1789, they provided for the organization and admission of only labor States in the Northwest. They directed fugitives from service to be restored, not as chattels, but as persons. They awarded naturalization to immigrant free laborers, and they prohibited the trade in African labor. This disposition of the whole subject was in harmony with the condition of society, and in the main with the spirit of the age. The seven Northern States contentedly became labor States by their own acts. The six Southern States, with equal tranquillity and by their own determination, remained capital States.

The circumstances which the fathers did not clearly foresee were two, namely: the reinvigoration of slavery consequent on the increased consumption of cotton, and the extension of the national domain across the Mississippi, and these occurred before 1820. The State of Louisiana formed on a slaveholding French settlement, within the newly-acquired Louisianian Territory, had then already been admitted into the Union. There yet remained, however, a vast region which included Arkansas and Missouri, together with the then unoccupied and even unnamed Kansas and Nebraska. Arkansas, a slaveholding community, was nearly ready to apply, and Missouri, another such Territory, was actually applying for admission into the Federal Union. The existing capital States seconded these applications, and claimed that the whole Louisianian Territory was rightfully open to slavery, and to the organization of future slave States. The labor States maintained that Congress had supreme legislative power within the domain, and could and ought to exclude slavery there. The question thus opened was one which related not at all to slavery in the existing capital States. It was purely and simply a national question, whether the common interest of the whole Republic required that Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, should become capital States, with all the evils and dangers of slavery, or be labor States, with all the security, benefits, and blessings, of freedom. On the decision was suspended the question, as was thought, whether ultimately the interior of this new continent should be an asylum for the oppressed and the exile, coming year after year and age after age, voluntarily from every other civilized land, as well as for the children of misfortune in our own, or whether, through the renewal of the African slave trade, those magnificent and luxuriant regions should be surrendered to the control of capital, wringing out the fruits of the earth through the impoverishing toil of negro slaves. That question of 1820 was identically the question of 1860, so far as principle, and even the field of its application, was concerned. Every element of the controversy now present entered it then; the rightfulness or the wrongfulness of slavery; its effects, present and future; the constitutional authority of Congress; the claims of the States, and of their citizens; the nature of the Federal Union, whether it is a compact between the States, or an independent Government; the springs of its powers, and the ligatures upon their exercise. All these were discussed with zeal and ability which have never been surpassed. History tells us, I know not how truly, that the Union reeled under the vehemence of that great debate. Patriotism took counsel from prudence, and enforced a settlement which has proved to be not a final one; and which, as is now seen, practically left open all the great political issues which were involved. Missouri and Arkansas were admitted as capital States, while labor obtained, as a reservation, the abridged but yet comprehensive field of Kansas and Nebraska.

Now, when the present conditions of the various parts of the Louisianian Territory are observed, and we see that capital retains undisputed possession of what it then obtained, while labor is convulsing the country with so hard and so prolonged a struggle to regain the lost equivalent which was then guarantied to it under circumstances of so great solemnity, we may well desire not to be undeceived if the Missouri compromise was indeed unnecessarily accepted by the free States, influenced by exaggerations of the dangers of disunion. The Missouri debate disclosed truths of great moment for ulterior use:

First. That it is easy to combine the capital States in defence of even external interests, while it is hard to unite the labor States in a common policy.

Second. That the labor States have a natural loyalty to the Union, while the capital States have a natural facility for alarming that loyalty by threatening disunion.

Third. That the capital States do not practically distinguish between legitimate and constitutional resistance to the extension of slavery in the common Territories of the Union, and unconstitutional aggression against slavery established by local laws in the capital States.

The early political parties were organized without reference to slavery. But since 1820, European questions have left us practically unconcerned. There has been a great increase of invention, mining, manufacture, and cultivation. Steam on land and on water has quickened commerce. The press and the telegraph have attained prodigious activity, and the social intercourse between the States and their citizens has been immeasurably increased; and consequently, their mutual relations affecting slavery have been, for many years, subjects of earnest and often excited discussion. It is in my way only to show how such disputes have operated on the course of political events—not to reopen them for argument here. There was a slave insurrection in Virginia. Virginia and Kentucky debated, and to the great sorrow of the free States, rejected the system of voluntary labor. The Colonization Society was established with much favor in the capital States. Emancipation societies arose in the free States. South Carolina instituted proceedings to nullify obnoxious Federal revenue laws. The capital States complained of courts and Legislatures in the labor States for interpreting the constitutional provision for the surrender of fugitives from service so as to treat them as persons, and not property, and they discriminated against colored persons of the labor States, when they came to the capital States. They denied, in Congress, the right of petition, and embarrassed or denied freedom of debate on the subject of slavery. Presses, which undertook the defence of the labor system in the capital States, were suppressed by violence; and even in the labor States, public assemblies, convened to consider slavery questions, were dispersed by mobs sympathizing with the capital States.

The Whig party, being generally an opposition party, practiced some forbearance toward the interest of labor. The Democratic party, not without demonstrations of dissent, was generally found sustaining the policy of capital. A disposition towards the removal of slavery from the presence of the national Capitol appeared in the District of Columbia. Mr. Van Buren, a Democratic President, launched a prospective veto against the anticipated measure. A Democratic Congress brought Texas into the Union, stipulating practically for its future reorganization in four slave States. Mexico was incensed. War ensued. The labor States asked that the Mexican law of liberty, which covered the Territories brought in by the treaty of peace, might remain and be confirmed. The Democratic party refused. The Missouri debate of 1820 recurred now, under circumstances of heat and excitement, in relation to these conquests. The defenders of labor took alarm lest the number of new capital States might become so great as to enable that class of States to dictate the whole policy of the Government; and in case of constitutional resistance, then to form a new slaveholding confederacy around the Gulf of Mexico. By this time the capital States seemed to have become fixed in a determination that the Federal Government, and even the labor States, should recognise their slaves, though outside of the slave States and within the Territories of the United States, as property of which the master could not be in any way or by any authority divested; and the labor States, having become now more essentially Democratic than ever before, by reason of the great development of free labor, more firmly than ever insisted on the constitutional doctrine that slaves voluntarily carried by their masters into the common Territories, or into labor States, are persons, men.

Under the auspicious influences of a Whig success, California and New Mexico appeared before Congress as labor States. The capital States refused to consent to their admission into the Union; and again threats of disunion carried terror and consternation throughout the land. Another compromise was made. Specific enactments admitted California as a labor State, and remanded New Mexico and Utah to remain Territories, with the right to choose freedom or slavery when ripened into States, while they gave new remedies for the recaption of fugitives from service, and abolished the open slave market in the District of Columbia. These new enactments, collated with the existing statutes, namely, the ordinance of 1787, the Missouri prohibitory law of 1820, and the articles of Texas annexation, disposed by law of the subject of slavery in all the Territories of the United States. And so the compromise of 1850 was pronounced a full, final, absolute, and comprehensive settlement of all existing and all possible disputes concerning slavery under the Federal authority. The two great parties, fearful for the Union, struck hands in making and in presenting this as an adjustment, never afterwards to be opened, disturbed, or even questioned, and the people accepted it by majorities unknown before. The new President, chosen over an illustrious rival, unequivocally on the ground of greater ability, even if not more reliable purpose, to maintain the new treaty inviolate, made haste to justify this expectation when Congress assembled. He said:

> "When the grave shall have closed over all who are now endeavoring to meet the obligations of duty, the year 1850 will be recurred to as a period filled with anxiety and apprehension. A successful war has just terminated; peace brought with it a great augmentation of territory. Disturbing questions arose, bearing upon the domestic institutions of a portion of the Confederacy, and involving the constitutional rights of the States. But, notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiment, in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigor to our institutions, and restored a sense of security and repose to the public mind throughout the Confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have the power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured."

Hardly, however, had these inspiring sounds died away throughout a reassured and delighted land, before the national repose was shocked again; shocked, indeed, as it had never before been, and smitten this time by a blow from the very hand that had just released the chords of the national harp from their utterance of that exalted symphony of peace.

Kansas and Nebraska, the long-devoted reservation of labor and freedom, saved in the agony of national fear in 1820, and saved again in the panic of 1850, were now to be opened by Congress, that the never-ending course of seed-time and harvest might begin. The slave capitalists of Missouri, from their own well-assured homes on the eastern banks of their noble river, looked down upon and coveted the fertile prairies of Kansas; while a sudden terror ran through all the capital States, when they saw a seeming certainty that at last a new labor State would be built on their western border, inevitably fraught, as they said, with a near or remote abolition of slavery. What could be done? Congress could hardly be expected to intervene directly for their safety so soon after the compromise of 1850. The labor hive of the free States was distant, the way new, unknown, and not without perils. Missouri was near and watchful, and held the keys of the gates of Kansas. She might seize the new and smiling Territory by surprise, if only Congress would remove the barrier established in 1820. The conjuncture was favorable. Clay and Webster, the distinguished citizens whose unquestionable devotion to the Union was manifested by their acquiescence in the compromise of 1850, had gone down already into their honored graves. The labor States had dismissed many of their representatives here for too great fidelity to freedom, and too great distrust of the efficacy of that new bond of peace, and had replaced them with partisans who were only timid, but not unwilling. The Democratic President and Congress hesitated, but not long. They revised the last great compromise, and found, with delighted surprise, that it was so far from confirming the law of freedom of 1820, that, on the other hand, it exactly provided for the abrogation of that venerated statute; nay, that the compromise itself actually killed the spirit of the Missouri law, and devolved on Congress the duty of removing the lifeless letter from the national code. The deed was done. The new enactment not only repealed the Missouri prohibition of slavery, but it pronounced the people of Kansas and Nebraska perfectly free to establish freedom or slavery, and pledged Congress to admit them in due time as States, either of capital or of labor, into the Union. The Whig representatives of the capital States, in an hour of strange bewilderment, concurred; and the Whig party instantly went down, never to rise again. Democrats seceded, and stood aloof; the country was confounded; and, amid the perplexities of the hour, a Republican party was seen gathering itself together with much earnestness, but with little show of organization, to rescue, if it were not now too late, the cause of freedom and labor, so unexpectedly and grievously imperilled in the Territories of the United States.

I will not linger over the sequel. The popular sovereignty of Kansas proved to be the State sovereignty of Missouri, not only in the persons of the rulers, but even in the letter of an arbitrary and cruel code. The perfect freedom proved to be a hateful and intolerable bondage. From 1855 to 1860, Kansas, sustained and encouraged only by the Republican party, has been engaged in successive and ever-varying struggles, which have taxed all her virtue, wisdom, moderation, energies, and resources, and often even her physical strength and martial courage, to save herself from being betrayed into the Union as a slave State. Nebraska, though choosing freedom, is, through the direct exercise of the Executive power, overriding her own will, held as a slave Territory; and New Mexico has relapsed voluntarily into the practice of slavery, from which she had redeemed herself while she yet remained a part of the Mexican Republic. Meantime, the Democratic party, advancing from the ground of popular sovereignty as far as that ground is from the ordinance of 1787, now stands on the position that both Territorial Governments and Congress are incompetent to legislate against slavery in the Territories, while they are not only competent, but are obliged, when it is necessary, to legislate for its protection there.

In this new and extreme position the Democratic party now masks itself behind the battery of the Supreme Court, as if it were possibly a true construction of the Constitution, that the power of deciding practically forever between freedom and slavery in a portion of the continent far exceeding all that is yet organized, should be renounced by Congress, which alone possesses any legislative authority, and should be assumed and exercised by a court which can only take cognizance of the great question collaterally, in a private action between individuals, and which action the Constitution will not suffer the court to entertain, if it involves twenty dollars of money, without the overruling intervention of a jury of twelve good and lawful men of the neighborhood where the litigation arises. The independent, ever-renewed, and ever-recurring representative Parliament, Diet, Congress, or Legislature, is the one chief, paramount, essential, indispensable institution in a Republic. Even liberty, guarantied by organic law, yet if it be held by other tenure than the guardian care of such a representative popular assembly, is but precariously maintained, while slavery, enforced by an irresponsible judicial tribunal, is the completest possible development of despotism.

Mr. President, did ever the annals of any Government show a more rapid or more complete departure from the wisdom and virtue of its founders? Did ever the Government of a great empire, founded on the rights of human labor, slide away so fast and so far, and moor itself so tenaciously on the basis of capital, and that capital invested in laboring men? Did ever a free representative Legislature, invested with powers so great, and with the guardianship of rights so important, of trusts so sacred, of interests so precious, and of hopes at once so noble and so comprehensive, surrender and renounce them all so unnecessarily, so unwisely, so fatally, and so ingloriously? If it be true, as every instinct of our nature and every precept of political experience teaches us, that

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay,"

then where—in Ireland, in Italy, in Poland, or in Hungary—has any ruler prepared for a generous and confiding people disappointments, disasters, and calamities, equal to those which the Government of the United States holds now suspended over so large a portion of the continent of North America?

Citizens of the United States, in the spirit of this policy, subverted the free Republic of Nicaragua, and opened it to slavery and the African slave trade, and held it in that condition, waiting annexation to the United States, until its sovereignty was restored by a combination of sister Republics exposed to the same danger, and apprehensive of similar subversion. Other citizens reopened the foreign slave trade in violation of our laws and treaties; and, after a suspension of that shameful traffic for fifty years, savage Africans have been once more landed on our shores and distributed, unreclaimed and with impunity, among our plantations.

For this policy, so far as the Government has sanctioned it, the Democratic party avows itself responsible. Everywhere complaint against it is denounced, and its opponents proscribed. When Kansas was writhing under the wounds of incipient, servile war, because of her resistance, the Democratic press deridingly said, "let her bleed." Official integrity has been cause for rebuke and punishment, when it resisted frauds designed to promote the extension of slavery. Throughout the whole Republic, there is not one known dissenter from that policy remaining in place, if within reach of the Executive arm. Nor over the face of the whole world is there to be found one representative of our country who is not an apologist of the extension of slavery.

It is in America that these things have happened. In the nineteenth century, the era of the world's greatest progress, and while all nations but ourselves have been either abridging or altogether suppressing commerce in men; at the very moment when the Russian serf is emancipated, and the Georgian captive, the Nubian prisoner, and the Abyssinian savage, are lifted up to freedom by the successor of Mohammed. The world, prepossessed in our behalf by our early devotion to the rights of human nature, as no nation ever before engaged its respect and sympathies, asks, in wonder and amazement, what all this demoralization means? It has an excuse better than the world can imagine, better than we are generally conscious of ourselves, a virtuous excuse. We have loved not freedom so much less, but the Union of our country so much more. We have been made to believe, from time to time, that, in a crisis, both of these precious institutions could not be saved together, and therefore we have, from time to time, surrendered safeguards of freedom to propitiate the loyalty of capital, and stay its hands from doing violence to the Union. The true state of the case, however, ought not to be a mystery to ourselves. Prescience, indeed, is not given to statesmen; but we are without excuse when we fail to apprehend the logic of current events. Let parties, or the Government, choose or do what they may, the people of the United States do not prefer the wealth of the few to the liberty of the many, capital to labor, African slaves to white freemen, in the national Territories and in future States. That question has never been distinctly recognised or acted on by them. The Republican party embodies the popular protest and reaction against a policy which has been

fastened upon the nation by surprise, and which its reason and conscience, concurring with the reason and conscience of mankind, condemn.

The choice of the nation is now between the Democratic party and the Republican party. Its principles and policy are, therefore, justly and even necessarily examined. I know of only one policy which it has adopted or avowed, namely: the saving of the Territories of the United States, if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being homes for slavery and polygamy. Who, that considers where this nation exists, of what races it is composed, in what age of the world it acts its part on the public stage, and what are its predominant institutions, customs, habits, and sentiments, doubts that the Republican party can and will, if unwaveringly faithful to that policy, and just and loyal in all beside, carry it into triumphal success? To doubt is to be uncertain whether civilization can improve or Christianity save mankind.

I may perhaps infer, from the necessity of the case, that it will, in all courts and places, stand by the freedom of speech and of the press, and the constitutional rights of freemen everywhere; that it will favor the speedy improvement of the public domain by homestead laws, and will encourage mining, manufacture, and internal commerce, with needful connections between the Atlantic and Pacific States—for all these are important interests of freedom. For all the rest, the national emergencies, not individual influences, must determine, as society goes on, the policy and character of the Republican party. Already bearing its part in legislation and in treaties, it feels the necessity of being practical in its care of the national health and life, while it leaves metaphysical speculation to those whose duty it is to cultivate the ennobling science of political philosophy.

But in the midst of these subjects, or, rather, before fully reaching them, the Republican party encounters, unexpectedly, a new and potential issue—one prior and therefore paramount to all others, one of national life and death. Just as if so much had not been already conceded; nay, just as if nothing at all had ever been conceded, to the interest of capital invested in men, we hear menaces of disunion, louder, more distinct, more emphatic than ever, with the condition annexed, that they shall be executed the moment that a Republican Administration, though constitutionally elected, shall assume the Government.

I do not certainly know that the people are prepared to call such an Administration to power. I know only, that through a succession of floods which never greatly excite, and ebbs which never entirely discourage me, the volume of Republicanism rises continually higher and higher. They are probably wise, whose apprehensions admonish them that it is already strong enough for effect.

Hitherto the Republican party has been content with one self-interrogatory—how many votes can it cast? These threats enforce another—has it determination enough to cast them? This latter question touches its spirit and pride. I am quite sure, however, that as it has hitherto practiced self-denial in so many other forms, it will in this emergency lay aside all impatience of temper, together with all ambition, and will consider these extraordinary declamations seriously and with a just moderation. It would be a waste of words to demonstrate that they are unconstitutional, and equally idle to show that the responsibility for disunion, attempted or effected, must rest not with those who in the exercise of constitutional authority maintain the Government, but with those who unconstitutionally engage in the mad work of subverting it.

What are the excuses for these menaces? They resolve themselves into this, that the Republican party in the North is hostile to the South. But it already is proved to be a majority in the North; it is therefore practically the people of the North. Will it not still be the same North that has forborne with you so long, and conceded to you so much? Can you justly assume that affection, which has been so complying, can all at once change to hatred, intense and inexorable?

You say that the Republican party is a sectional one. Is the Democratic party less sectional? Is it easier for us to bear your sectional sway than for you to bear ours? Is it unreasonable that for once we should alternate? But is the Republican party sectional? Not unless the Democratic party is. The Republican party prevails in the House of Representatives sometimes, the Democratic party in the Senate always. Which of the two is the most proscriptive? Come, come, come, if you will, into the free States, into the State of New York, anywhere from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, among my neighbors in the Owasco valley, hold your conventions, nominate your candidates, address the people, submit to them, fully, earnestly, eloquently, all your complaints and grievances of Northern disloyalty, oppression, perfidy; keep nothing back, speak just as freely and as loudly there as you do here; you will have hospitable welcomes and appreciating audiences, with ballot-boxes open for all the votes you can win. Are you less sectional than this? Extend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats in the North. [Applause.] There is, however, a better test of nationality than the accidental location of parties. Our policy of labor in the Territories was not sectional in the first forty years of the Republic. Its nature inheres. It will be national again, during the third forty years, and forever afterwards. It is not wise and beneficent for us alone, or injurious to you alone. Its effects are equal, and the same for us all.

You accuse the Republican party of ulterior and secret designs. How can a party that counts its votes in this land of free speech and free press by the hundreds of thousands, have any secret designs? Who is the conjurer, and where are the hidden springs by which he can control its uncongregated and widely-dispersed masses, and direct them to objects unseen and purposes unavowed? But what are these hidden purposes? You name only one. That one is to introduce negro equality among you. Suppose we had the power to change your social system: what warrant have you for supposing that we should carry negro equality among you? We know, and we will show you, if you will only give heed, that what our system of labor works out, wherever it works out anything, is the equality of white men. The laborer in the free States, no matter how humble his occupation, is a white man, and he is politically the equal of his employer. Eighteen of our thirty-three States are free-labor States. There they are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, California, and Oregon. I do not array them in contrast with the capital States. I am no assailant of States. All of the States are parcels of my own country—the best of them not so wise and great as I am sure it will hereafter be; the State least developed and perfected among them all is wiser and better than any foreign State I know. Is it, then, in any, and in which, of the States I have named that negro equality offends the white man's pride? Throughout the wide world, where is the State where class and caste are so utterly extinguished as they are in each and every one of them? Let the European immigrant, who avoids the African as if his skin exhaled contagion, answer. You find him always in the State where labor is ever free. Did Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, when they implored you to relinquish your system, and accept the one we have adopted, propose to sink you down to the level of the African, or was it their desire to exalt all white men to a common political elevation?

But we do not seek to force, or even to intrude, our system on you. We are excluded justly, wisely, and contentedly, from all political power and responsibility in your capital States? You are sovereign on the subject of slavery within your own borders, as we are on the same subject within our borders. It is well and wisely so arranged. Use your authority to maintain what system you please. We are not distrustful of the result. We have wisely, as we think, exercised ours to protect and perfect the manhood of the members of the State. The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns within the Union is divided between us by unmistakable boundaries. You have your fifteen distinct parts; we eighteen parts, equally distinct. Each must be maintained in order that the whole may be preserved. If ours shall be assailed, within or without, by any enemy, or for any cause, and we shall have need, we shall expect you to defend it. If yours shall be so assailed, in the emergency, no matter what the cause or the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your sovereignty as the equivalent of our own. We cannot, indeed, accept your system of capital or its ethics. That would be to surrender and subvert our own, which we esteem to be better. Besides, if we could, what need for any division into States at all? You are equally at liberty to reject our system and its ethics, and to maintain the superiority of your own by all the forces of persuasion and argument. We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them, since we have to decide as a nation which of the two we ought to engraft on the new and future States growing up in the great public domain. Discussion, then, being unavoidable, what could be more wise than to conduct it with mutual toleration and in a fraternal spirit?

You complain that Republicans discourse too boldly and directly, when they express with confidence their belief that the system of labor will, in the end, be universally accepted by the capital States, acting for themselves, and in conformity with their own Constitutions, while they sanction too unreservedly books designed to advocate emancipation. But surely you can hardly expect the Federal Government or the political parties of the nation to maintain a censorship of the press or of debate. The theory of our system is, that error of opinion may in all cases safely be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. Will it be claimed that more of moderation and tenderness in debate are exhibited on your side of the great argument than on our own? We all learned our polemics, as well as our principles, from a common master. We are sure that we do not, on our side, exceed his lessons and example. Thomas Jefferson addressed Dr. Price, an Englishman, concerning his treatise on emancipation in America, in this fashion:

> "Southward of the Chesapeake, your book will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice; a minority which, for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number who have not the courage to divest their families of a property which, however, keeps their consciences unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here and there a robber or a murderer; but in no greater number. * * * This (Virginia) is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression—a conflict where the sacred side is gaining daily new recruits from the influx into office of young men, grown and growing up. * * * Be not, then, discouraged. What you have written will do a great deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself about our welfare, no man is more able to help the laboring side."

You see, sir, that whether we go for or against slavery anywhere, we must follow Southern guides. You may change your pilots with the winds or the currents; but we, whose nativity reckoned under the North Star, has rendered us somewhat superstitious, must be excused for constancy in following the guidance of those who framed the national ship and gave us the chart for its noble voyage.

A profound respect and friendly regard for the Vice President of the United States has induced me to weigh carefully the testimony he has given on the subject of the hostility against the South imputed to the Republican party, as derived from the relations of the representatives of the two parties at this capital. He says that he has seen here, in the representatives of the lower Southern States, a most resolute and earnest spirit of resistance to the Republican party; that he perceives a sensible loss of that spirit of brotherhood and that feeling of loyalty, together with that love for a common country, which are at last the surest cement of the Union; so that, in the present unhappy condition of affairs, he is almost tempted to exclaim, that we are dissolving week by week, and month by month; that the threads are gradually fretting themselves asunder; and a stranger might suppose that the Executive of the United States was the President of two hostile Republics. It is not for me to raise a doubt upon the correctness of this dark picture, so far as the Southern groups upon the canvas are concerned, but I must be indulged in the opinion that I can pronounce as accurately concerning the Northern or Republican representatives here as any one. I know their public haunts and their private ways. We are not a hostile Republic, or representatives of one. We confer together, but only as the organs of every party do, and must do, in a political system which obliges us to act sometimes as partisans, while it requires us always to be patriots and statesmen. Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, with us are political, not social or personal differences. There is not one disunionist or disloyalist among us all. We are altogether unconscious of any process of dissolution going on among us or around us. We have never been more patient, and never loved the representatives of other sections more, than now. We hear the same testimony for the people around us here, who, though in the very centre, where the bolt of disunion must fall first, and be most fearful in its effects, seem never less disturbed than now. We hear the same testimony for all the districts and States we represent. The people of the North are not enemies, but friends and brothers of the South, faithful and true as in the days when Death has dealt his arrows promiscuously among them on common battle-fields of freedom.

We will not suffer ourselves here to dwell on any evidences of a different temper in the South; but we shall be content with expressing our belief that hostility that is not designedly provoked, and that cannot provoke retaliation, is an anomaly that must be traced to casual excitements, which cannot perpetuate alienation.

A canvass for a Presidential election, in some respects more important, perhaps, than any since 1800, has recently begun. The House of Representatives was to be organized by a majority, while no party could cast more than a plurality of votes. The gloom of the late tragedy in Virginia rested on the Capitol from the day when Congress assembled. While the two great political parties were peacefully, lawfully, and constitutionally, though zealously, conducting the great national issue between free labor and capital labor for the Territories to its proper solution, through the trials of the ballot, operating directly or indirectly on the various departments of the Government, a band of exceptional men, contemptuous equally of that great question and of the parties to the controversy, and impatient of the constitutional system which confines the citizens of every State to political action by suffrage in organized parties within their own borders, inspired by an enthusiasm peculiar to themselves, and exasperated by grievances and wrongs that some of them had suffered by inroads of armed propagandists of slavery in Kansas, unlawful as their own retaliation was, attempted to subvert slavery in Virginia by conspiracy, ambush, invasion, and force. The method we have adopted, of appealing to the reason and judgment of the people, to be pronounced by suffrage, is the only one by which free Government can be maintained anywhere, and the only one as yet devised which is in harmony with the spirit of the Christian religion. While generous and charitable natures will probably concede that John Brown and his associates acted on earnest though fatally erroneous convictions, yet all good citizens will nevertheless agree, that this attempt to execute an unlawful purpose in Virginia by invasion, involving servile war, was an act of sedition and treason, and criminal in just the extent that it affected the public peace and was destructive of human happiness and human life. It is a painful reflection that, after so long an experience of the beneficent working of our system as we have enjoyed, we have had those new illustrations in Kansas and Virginia of the existence among us of a class of men so misguided and so desperate as to seek to enforce their peculiar principles by the sword, drawing after it a need for the further illustration by their punishment of that great moral truth, especially applicable in a Republic, that they who take up the sword as a weapon of controversy shall perish by the sword. In the latter case, the lamented deaths of so many citizens, slain from an ambush and by surprise—all the more lamentable because they were innocent victims of a frenzy kindled without their agency, in far distant fires—the deaths even of the offenders themselves, pitiable, although necessary and just, because they acted under delirium, which blinded their judgments to the real nature of their criminal enterprise; the alarm and consternation naturally awakened throughout the country, exciting for the moment the fear that our whole system, with all its securities for life and liberty, was coming to an end—a fear none the more endurable because continually aggravated by new chimeras to which the great leading event lent an air of probability; surely all these constituted a sum of public misery which ought to have satisfied the most morbid appetite for social horrors. But, as in the case of the gunpowder plot, and the Salem witchcraft, and the New York colonial negro plot, so now; the original actors were swiftly followed by another and kindred class, who sought to prolong and widen the public distress by attempting to direct the indignation which it had excited against parties guiltless equally of complicity and of sympathy with the offenders.

Posterity will decide in all the recent cases where political responsibility for public disasters must fall; and posterity will give little heed to our interested instructions. It was not until the gloomy reign of Domitian had ended, and liberty and virtue had found assured refuge under the sway of the milder Norva, that the historian arose whose narrative of that period of tyranny and terror has been accepted by mankind.

The Republican party being thus vindicated against the charge of hostility to the South, which has been offered in excuse for the menaces of unconstitutional resistance in the event of its success, I feel well assured that it will sustain me in meeting them in the spirit of the defender of the English Commonwealth.

> "Surely, they that shall boast as we do to be a free nation, and having the power, shall not also have the courage, to remove, constitutionally, every Governor, whether he be the supreme or subordinate, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies, but are, indeed, under tyranny and servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose of and economize in the land which God hath given them, as members of family in their own home and free inheritance. Without which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can, in due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vassals born in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord, whose government, though not illegal or intolerable, hangs on them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government."

The Republican party knows, as the whole country will ultimately come to understand, that the noblest objects of national life must perish, if that life itself shall be lost, and therefore it will accept the issue tendered. It will take up the word Union, which others are so willing to renounce, and, combining it with that other glorious thought, Liberty, which has been its inspiration so long, it will move firmly onward, with the motto inscribed on its banner, "UNION and LIBERTY, come what may, in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever."

If the Republican party maintain the Union, who and what party is to assail it? Only the Democratic party, for there is no other. Will the Democratic party take up the assault? The menaces of disunion are made, though not in its name, yet in its behalf. It must avow or disavow them. Its silence, thus far, is portentous, but is not alarming. The effect of the intimidation, if successful, would be to continue the rule of the Democratic party, though a minority, by terror. It certainly ought to need no more than this to secure the success of the Republican party. If, indeed, the time has come when the Democratic party must rule by terror, instead of ruling through conceded public confidence, then it is quite certain that it cannot be dismissed from power too soon. Ruling on that odious principle, it could not long save either the Constitution or public liberty. But I shall not believe the Democratic party will consent to stand in this position, though it does, through the action of its representatives, seem to cover and sustain those who threaten disunion. I know the Democracy of the North. I know them now in their waning strength. I do not know a possible disunionist among them all. I believe they will be as faithful to the Union now as they were in the bygone days when their ranks were full, and their challenge to the combat was always the war-cry of victory. But, if it shall prove otherwise, then the world will all the sooner know that every party in this country must stand on Union ground; that the American people will sustain no party that is not capable of making a sacrifice of its ambition on the altar of the country; that, although a party may have never so much of prestige, and never such traditional merit, yet, if it be lacking in the one virtue of loyalty to the Union, all its advantages will be unavailing; and then, obnoxious as, through long-cherished and obstinate prejudices, the Republican party is in the capital States, yet even there it will advance like an army with banners, winning the favor of the whole people, and it will be armed with the national confidence and support, when it shall be found the only party that defends and maintains the integrity of the Union.

Those who seek to awaken the terrors of disunion seem to me to have too hastily considered the conditions under which they are to make their attempt. Who believes that a Republican Administration and Congress could practice tyranny under a Constitution which interposes so many checks as ours? Yet that tyranny must not only be practiced, but must be intolerable, and there must be no remaining hope for constitutional relief, before forcible resistance can find ground to stand on anywhere.

The people of the United States, acting in conformity with the Constitution, are the supreme tribunal to try and determine all political issues. They are as competent to decide the issues of to-day as they have been heretofore to decide the issues of other days. They can reconsider hereafter and reverse, if need be, the judgment they shall pronounce to-day, as they have more than once reconsidered and reversed their judgments in former times. It needs no revolution to correct any error, or prevent any danger, under any circumstances.

Nor is any new or special cause for revolution likely to occur under a Republican Administration. We are engaged in no new transaction, not even in a new dispute. Our fathers undertook a great work for themselves, for us, and for our successors—to erect a free and Federal empire, whose arches shall span the North American continent, and reflect the rays of the sun throughout his whole passage from the one to the other of the great oceans. They erected thirteen of its columns all at once. These are standing now, the admiration of mankind. Their successors added twenty more; even we who are here have shaped and elevated three of that twenty, and all these are as firm and steadfast as the first thirteen; and more will yet be necessary when we shall have rested from our labors. Some among us prefer for these columns a composite material; others, the pure white marble. Our fathers and our predecessors differed in the same way, and on the same point. What execrations should we not all unite in pronouncing on any statesman who heretofore, from mere disappointment and disgust at being overruled in his choice of materials for any new column then to be quarried, should have laid violent hands on the imperfect structure, and brought it down to the earth, there to remain a wreck, instead of a citadel of a world's best hopes!

I remain now in the opinion I have uniformly expressed here and elsewhere, that these hasty threats of disunion are so unnatural that they will find no hand to execute them. We are of one race, language, liberty, and faith; engaged, indeed, in varied industry, but even that industry, so diversified, brings us into more intimate relations with each other than any other people, however homogeneous, and though living under a consolidated Government, ever maintained. We languish throughout, if one joint of our Federal frame is smitten; while it is certain that a part dissevered must perish. You may refine as you please about the structure of the Government, and say that it is a compact, and that a breach, by one of the States or by Congress, of any one article, absolves all the members from allegiance, and that the States may separate when they have, or fancy they have, cause for war. But once try to subvert it, and you will find that it is a Government of the whole people—as individuals, as well as a compact of States; that every individual member of the body politic is conscious of his interest and power in it, and knows that he will be helpless, powerless, hopeless, when it shall have gone down. Mankind have a natural right, a natural instinct, and a natural capacity for self-government; and when, as here, they are sufficiently ripened by culture, they will and must have self-government, and no other. The framers of our Constitution, with a wisdom that surpassed all previous understanding among men, adapted it to these inherent elements of human nature. He strangely, blindly misunderstands the anatomy of the great system, who thinks that its only bonds, or even its strongest ligaments, are the written compact or even the multiplied and thoroughly ramified roads and thoroughfares of trade, commerce, and social intercourse. These are strong indeed, but its chiefest instruments of cohesion—those which render it inseparable and indivisible—are the millions of fibres of millions of contented, happy human hearts, binding by their affections, their ambitions, and their best hopes, equally the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the learned and the untutored, even the good and the bad, to a Government, the first, the last, and the only such one that has ever existed, which takes equal heed always of their wants, their wishes, and their opinions; and appeals to them all, individually, once in a year, or in two years, or at least in four years, for their expressed consent and renewal, without which it must cease. No; go where you will, and to what class you may, with commissions for your fatal service in one hand, and your bounty counted by the hundred or the thousand pieces of silver in the other, a thousand resisters will rise up for every recruit you can engage. On the banks equally of the St. Lawrence and of the Rio Grande, on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and in the dells of the Rocky Mountains, among the fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, the weavers and spinners of Massachusetts, the stevedores of New York, the miners of Pennsylvania, Pike's Peak, and California, the wheat-growers of Indiana, the cotton and the sugar planters on the Mississippi, among the voluntary citizens from every other land not less than the native born, the Christian and the Jew, among the Indians on the prairies, the contumacious Mormons in Deseret, the Africans free, the Africans in bondage, the inmates of hospitals and almshouses, and even the criminals in the penitentiaries, rehearse the story of your wrongs and their own never so eloquently and never so mournfully, and appeal to them to help you. They will ask you, "Is this all?" "Are you more just than Washington, wiser than Hamilton, more humane than Jefferson?" "What new form of government or of union have you the power to establish, or even the cunning to devise, that will be more just, more safe, more free, more gentle, more beneficent, or more glorious than this?" And by these simple interrogatories you will be silenced and confounded.

Mr. President, we are perpetually forgetting this subtle and complex, yet obvious and natural, mechanism of our Constitution; and because we do forget it, we are continually wondering how it is that a Confederacy of thirty and more States, covering regions so vast, and regulating interests so various of so many millions of men, constituted and conditioned so diversely, works right on. We are continually looking to see it stop, and stand still, or fall suddenly into pieces. But, in truth, it will not stop; it cannot stop; it was made not to stop, but to keep in motion—in motion always, and without force. For my own part, as this wonderful machine, when it had newly come from the hands of its almost divine inventors, was the admiration of my earlier years, although it was then but imperfectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the central figure in the economy of the world's civilization, and the best sympathies of mankind favor its continuance, I expect that it will stand and work right on until men shall fear its failure no more than we now apprehend that the sun will cease to hold his eternal place in the heavens.

Nevertheless, I do not expect to see this purely popular, though majestic, system always working on unattended by the presence and exhibition of human temper and human passions. That would be to expect to enjoy rewards, benefits, and blessings, without labor, care, and watchfulness—an expectation contrary to Divine appointment. These are the discipline of the American citizen, and he must inure himself to it. When, as now, a great policy, fastened upon the country through its doubts and fears, confirmed by its habits, and strengthened by personal interests and ambitions, is to be relaxed and changed, in order that the nation may have its just and natural and free developments, then, indeed, all the winds of controversy are let loose upon me from all points of the political compass—we see objects and men only through hazes, mists, and doubtful and lurid lights. The earth seems to be heaving under our feet, and the pillars of the noble fabric that protects us to be trembling before our eyes. But the appointed end of all this agitation comes at last, and always seasonably; the tumults of the people subside; the country becomes calm once more; and then we find that only our senses have been disturbed, and that they have betrayed us. The earth is firm as always before, and the wonderful structure, for whose safety we have feared so anxiously, now more firmly fixed than ever, still stands unmoved, enduring, and immovable.

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